

Ciao, Berlusconi!

How he became Italy's most toxic asset

**Why Obama's
real problem
is China**

BY JOE KLEIN

**COLLEGE FOOTBALL
Joe Paterno's
dangerous
game of silence**

TIME AN ARMY APART

**45,000 troops are coming home to
a country that doesn't know them**

BY MARK THOMPSON

Do you have
psoriasis

and joint pain?



Who is ENBREL for?

ENBREL is indicated for reducing signs and symptoms, keeping joint damage from getting worse, and improving physical function in patients with psoriatic arthritis. ENBREL can be used in combination with methotrexate in patients who do not respond adequately to methotrexate alone.

ENBREL is indicated for the treatment of adult patients (18 years or older) with chronic moderate to severe plaque psoriasis who are candidates for systemic therapy or phototherapy.

IMPORTANT SAFETY INFORMATION

What is the most important information I should know about ENBREL?

ENBREL is a medicine that affects your immune system. ENBREL can lower the ability of your immune system to fight infections. Serious infections have happened in patients taking ENBREL. These infections

include tuberculosis (TB) and infections caused by viruses, fungi, or bacteria that have spread throughout the body. Some patients have died from these infections. Your doctor should test you for TB before you take ENBREL and monitor you closely for TB before, during, and after ENBREL treatment, even if you have tested negative for TB.

There have been some cases of unusual cancers reported in children and teenage patients who started using tumor necrosis factor (TNF) blockers before 18 years of age. Also, for children, teenagers, and adults taking TNF blockers, including ENBREL, the chances of getting lymphoma or other cancers may increase. Patients with RA or psoriasis may be more likely to get lymphoma.

Before starting ENBREL, tell your doctor if you:

- Have any existing medical conditions
- Are taking any medicines, including herbals

- Think you have, are being treated for, have signs of, or are prone to infection. You should not start taking ENBREL if you have any kind of infection, unless your doctor says it is okay
- Have any open cuts or sores
- Have diabetes, HIV, or a weak immune system
- Have TB or have been in close contact with someone who has had TB
- Were born in, lived in, or traveled to countries where there is more risk for getting TB. Ask your doctor if you are not sure
- Live, have lived in, or traveled to certain parts of the country (such as, the Ohio and Mississippi River valleys, or the Southwest) where there is a greater risk for certain kinds of fungal infections, such as histoplasmosis. These infections may develop or become more severe if you take ENBREL. If you don't know if these infections are common in the areas you've been to, ask your doctor

You may have psoriatic arthritis, like Phil.

During the summer of 2010, Phil Mickelson began to experience intense, ongoing joint pain. His doctor diagnosed him with psoriatic arthritis and prescribed ENBREL.

After a few weeks, Phil started to notice the effects of ENBREL[®] and felt a big sense of relief that his condition could be managed.

Up to 30% of psoriasis patients may actually have psoriatic arthritis, a condition that can cause skin symptoms similar to psoriasis, as well as joint pain, stiffness, and swelling.

ENBREL treats both the skin and joint symptoms of psoriatic arthritis.* And it can help keep joint damage from getting worse.

If you have skin symptoms and ongoing joint pain, **take it from Phil and ask your doctor about psoriatic arthritis and whether ENBREL may be right for you.**

Prescription ENBREL is taken by injection.

*In a clinical study, about half of psoriatic arthritis patients on ENBREL saw improvement in joint symptoms and nearly half saw a 50% improvement in skin lesions at 6 months. Clinical responses were apparent at the time of first visit (4 weeks) and were maintained through 6 months of therapy. Your results may vary.



Phil Mickelson

Champion Golfer

ENBREL psoriatic arthritis patient

- Have or have had hepatitis B
- Have or have had heart failure
- Develop symptoms such as persistent fever, bruising, bleeding, or paleness while taking ENBREL
- Use the medicine Kineret[®] (anakinra), Orencia[®] (abatacept), or Cytosan[®] (cyclophosphamide)
- Are taking anti-diabetic medicines
- Have, have had, or develop a serious nervous disorder, seizures, any numbness or tingling, or a disease that affects your nervous system such as multiple sclerosis or Guillain-Barré syndrome
- Are scheduled to have surgery
- Have recently received or are scheduled for any vaccines. All vaccines should be brought up-to-date before starting ENBREL. Patients taking ENBREL should not receive live vaccines.

- Are allergic to rubber or latex
- Are pregnant, planning to become pregnant, or breastfeeding
- Have been around someone with chicken pox

What are the possible side effects of ENBREL?

ENBREL can cause serious side effects including: New infections or worsening of infections you already have; **hepatitis B** can become active if you already have had it; **nervous system problems**, such as multiple sclerosis, seizures, or inflammation of the nerves of the eyes; **blood problems** (some fatal); new or worsening **heart failure**; new or worsening **psoriasis**; **allergic reactions**; **autoimmune reactions**, including a lupus-like syndrome and autoimmune hepatitis.

Common side effects include: injection site reactions, upper respiratory infections (sinus infections), and headache.



These are not all the side effects with ENBREL. Tell your doctor about any side effect that bothers you or does not go away.

If you have any questions about this information, be sure to discuss them with your doctor. You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit www.fda.gov/medwatch, or call 1-800-FDA-1088.

Please see accompanying Medication Guide on the next page.

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For more information about ENBREL, call 1-888-4ENBREL, visit Enbrel.com, or ask your doctor.



Medication Guide Enbrel® (en-brel) (etanercept)

Read the Medication Guide that comes with Enbrel before you start using it and each time you get a refill. There may be new information. This Medication Guide does not take the place of talking with your doctor about your medical condition or treatment. It is important to remain under your doctor's care while using Enbrel.

Enbrel is a prescription medicine called a Tumor Necrosis Factor (TNF) blocker that affects your immune system.

What is the most important information I should know about Enbrel?

Enbrel may cause serious side effects, including:

1. Risk of infection

Enbrel can lower the ability of your immune system to fight infections. Some people have serious infections while taking Enbrel. These infections include tuberculosis (TB), and infections caused by viruses, fungi, or bacteria that spread throughout their body. Some people have died from these infections.

- Your doctor should monitor you for TB before starting Enbrel.
- Your doctor should test you closely for symptoms of TB during treatment with Enbrel even if you tested negative for TB.
- Your doctor should check you for symptoms of any type of infection before, during, and after your treatment with Enbrel.

You should not start taking Enbrel if you have any kind of infection unless your doctor says it is okay.

2. Risk of cancer

- There have been cases of unusual cancers in children and teenage patients who started using TNF-blocking agents at less than 18 years of age.
- For children, teenagers, and adults taking TNF-blocker medicines, including Enbrel, the chances of getting lymphoma or other cancers may increase.
- People with rheumatoid arthritis or psoriasis, especially those with very active disease, may be more likely to get lymphoma.

Before starting Enbrel, be sure to talk to your doctor:

Enbrel may not be right for you. Before starting Enbrel, tell your doctor about all of your medical conditions, including:

Infections – tell your doctor if you:

- have an infection. (See "What is the most important information I should know about Enbrel?")
- are being treated for an infection.
- think you have an infection.
- have symptoms of an infection such as fever, sweats or chills, cough or flu-like symptoms, shortness of breath, blood in your phlegm, weight loss, muscle aches, warm, red, or painful areas on your skin, sores on your body, diarrhea or stomach pain, burning when you urinate or urinating more often than normal, and feel very tired.
- have any open cuts on your body.
- get a lot of infections or have infections that keep coming back.
- have diabetes, HIV, or a weak immune system. People with these conditions have a higher chance for infections.
- have TB, or have been in close contact with someone with TB.
- were born in, lived in, or traveled to countries where there is a risk for getting TB. Ask your doctor if you are not sure.
- live, have lived in, or traveled to certain parts of the country (such as the Ohio and Mississippi River valleys, or the Southwest) where there is a greater risk for getting certain kinds of fungal infections (histoplasmosis, coccidioidomycosis, blastomycosis). These infections may happen or become more severe if you use Enbrel. Ask your doctor if you do not know if you live or have lived in an area where these infections are common.
- have or have had hepatitis B.

Also, BEFORE starting Enbrel, tell your doctor:

- About all the medicines you take including prescription and nonprescription medicines, vitamins and herbal supplements including:
 - ✓ Ocrencia® (abatacept) or Kinere® (anakinra). You may have a higher chance for serious infections when taking Enbrel with Ocrencia® or Kinere®.
 - ✓ Cyclophosphamide (Cytoxan®). You may have a higher chance for getting certain cancers when taking Enbrel with cyclophosphamide.
 - ✓ Anti-diabetic medicines. If you have diabetes and are taking medication to control your diabetes, your doctor may decide you need less anti-diabetic medicine while taking Enbrel.

Keep a list of all your medications with you to show your doctor and pharmacist each time you get a new medicine. Ask your doctor if you are not sure if your medicine is one listed above.

Other important medical information you should tell your doctor BEFORE starting Enbrel, includes if you:

- have or had a nervous system problem such as multiple sclerosis or Guillain-Barre syndrome.
- have or had heart failure.
- are scheduled to have surgery.
- have recently received or are scheduled to receive a vaccine.
 - ✓ all vaccines should be brought up to date before starting Enbrel.
 - ✓ people taking Enbrel should not receive live vaccines.
 - ✓ ask your doctor if you are not sure if you received a live vaccine.
- are allergic to rubber or latex.
 - ✓ the needle covers on the single-use prefilled syringes and the single-use prefilled SureClick® autoinjectors contains dry natural rubber.
- have been around someone with varicella zoster (chicken pox).
- are pregnant or plan to become pregnant. It is not known if Enbrel will harm your unborn baby.
- ✓ Pregnancy Registry: Amgen has a registry for pregnant women who take Enbrel. The purpose of this registry is to check the health of the pregnant mother and her child. Talk to your doctor if you are pregnant and contact the registry at 1-877-331-8972.
- are breastfeeding or plan to breastfeed. It is not known if Enbrel passes into your breast milk. You and your doctor should decide if you will take Enbrel or breastfeed. You should not do both.

See the section "What are the possible side effects of Enbrel?" below for more information.

What is Enbrel?

Enbrel is a prescription medicine called a Tumor Necrosis Factor (TNF) blocker.

Enbrel is used to treat:

- moderately to severely active rheumatoid arthritis (RA). Enbrel can be used alone or with a medicine called methotrexate.
- psoriatic arthritis. Enbrel can be used alone or with methotrexate.
- ankylosing spondylitis (AS).
- chronic moderate to severe plaque psoriasis in adults ages 18 years and older.
- moderately to severely active polyarticular juvenile idiopathic arthritis (JIA) in children ages 2 years and older.

You may continue to use other medicines that help treat your condition while taking Enbrel, such as nonsteroidal anti-inflammatory drugs (NSAIDs) and prescription steroids, as recommended by your doctor. Enbrel can help reduce joint damage and the signs and symptoms of the above mentioned diseases. People with these diseases have too much of a protein called tumor necrosis factor (TNF), which is made by your immune system. Enbrel can reduce the effect of TNF in the body and block the damage that too much TNF can cause, but it can also lower the ability of your immune system to fight infections. See "What is the most important information I should know about Enbrel?" and "What are the possible side effects of Enbrel?"

Who should not use Enbrel?

Do not use Enbrel if you:

- have an infection that has spread throughout your body (sepsis).

How should I use Enbrel?

- Enbrel is given as an injection under the skin (subcutaneous or SC).
- If your doctor decides that you or a caregiver can give the injections of Enbrel at home, you or your caregiver should receive training on the right way to prepare and inject Enbrel. Do not try to inject Enbrel until you have been shown the right way by your doctor or nurse.
- Enbrel is available in the forms listed below. Your doctor will prescribe the type that is best for you.
 - Single-use Prefilled Syringe
 - Single-use Prefilled SureClick Autoinjector
 - Multiple-use Vial
- See the detailed "Patient Instructions for Use" with this Medication Guide for instructions about the right way to store, prepare, and give your Enbrel injections at home.
- Your doctor will tell you how often you should use Enbrel. Do not miss any doses of Enbrel. If you forget to use Enbrel, inject your dose as soon as you remember. Then, take your next dose at your regularly scheduled time. In case you are not sure when to inject Enbrel, call your doctor or pharmacist. Do not use Enbrel more often than as directed by your doctor.
- Your child's dose of Enbrel depends on his or her weight. Your child's doctor will tell you which form of Enbrel to use and how much to give your child.

What are the possible side effects of Enbrel?

Enbrel can cause serious side effects, including:

See "What is the most important information I should know about Enbrel?"

- Infections. Enbrel can make you more likely to get infections or make any infection that you have worse. Call your doctor right away if you have any symptoms of an infection. See "Before starting Enbrel, be sure to talk to your doctor" for a list of symptoms of infection.
- Hepatitis B infection in people who carry the virus in their blood. If you are a carrier of the hepatitis B virus (a virus that affects the liver),

the virus can become active while you use Enbrel. Your doctor may do a blood test before you start treatment with Enbrel and while you use Enbrel.

- Nervous system problems. Rarely, people who use TNF-blocker medicines have developed nervous system problems such as multiple sclerosis, seizures, or inflammation of the nerves of the eyes. Tell your doctor right away if you get any of these symptoms: numbness or tingling in any part of your body, vision changes, weakness in your arms and legs, and dizziness.
- Blood problems. Low blood counts have been seen with other TNF-blocker medicines. Your body may not make enough of the blood cells that help fight infections or help stop bleeding. Symptoms include fever, bruising or bleeding very easily, or looking pale.
- Heart failure including new heart failure or worsening of heart failure you already have. New or worse heart failure can happen in people who use TNF-blocker medicines like Enbrel. If you have heart failure your condition should be watched closely while you take Enbrel. Call your doctor right away if you get new or worsening symptoms of heart failure while taking Enbrel, such as shortness of breath or swelling of your lower legs or feet.
- Psoriasis. Some people using Enbrel developed new psoriasis or worsening of psoriasis they already had. Tell your doctor if you develop red scaly patches or raised bumps that may be itched with pus. Your doctor may decide to stop your treatment with Enbrel.
- Allergic reactions. Allergic reactions can happen to people who use TNF-blocker medicines. Call your doctor right away if you have any symptoms of an allergic reaction. Symptoms of an allergic reaction include a severe rash, a swollen face, or trouble breathing.
- Autoimmune reactions, including:
 - ✓ Lupus-like syndrome. Symptoms include a rash on your face and arms that gets worse in the sun. Tell your doctor if you have this symptom. Symptoms may go away when you stop using Enbrel.
 - ✓ Autoimmune hepatitis. Liver problems can happen in people who use TNF-blocker medicines, including Enbrel. These problems can lead to liver failure and death. Call your doctor right away if you have any of these symptoms: feel very tired, pain in or eyes look yellow, poor appetite or vomiting, pain on the right side of your stomach (abdomen).

Common side effects of Enbrel include:

- Injection site reactions such as redness, swelling, itching, or pain. These symptoms usually go away within 3 to 5 days. If you have pain, redness, or swelling around the injection site that doesn't go away or gets worse, call your doctor.
- Upper respiratory infections (sinus infections).
- Headache.

These are not all the side effects with Enbrel. Tell your doctor about any side effect that bothers you or does not go away.

Call your doctor for medical advice about side effects. You may report side effects to FDA at 1-800-FDA-1088.

How should I store Enbrel?

- Store Enbrel in the refrigerator at 36° to 46°F (2° to 8°C).
- Do not freeze.
- Do not shake.
- Keep Enbrel in the original carton to protect from light.
- Keep Enbrel and all medicines out of the reach of children.

General Information about Enbrel

Medicines are sometimes prescribed for purposes not mentioned in a Medication Guide. Do not use Enbrel for a condition for which it was not prescribed. Do not give Enbrel to other people, even if they have the same condition. It may harm them.

This Medication Guide summarizes the most important information about Enbrel. If you would like more information, talk with your doctor. You can ask your doctor or pharmacist for information about Enbrel that was written for healthcare professionals. For more information call, 1-888-4ENBREL (1-888-436-2733).

What are the ingredients in Enbrel?

Single-use Prefilled Syringe and the Single-use Prefilled SureClick Autoinjector:

Active ingredient: etanercept

Inactive ingredients: sucrose, sodium chloride, L-arginine hydrochloride and sodium phosphate

Multiple-use Vial:

Active ingredient: etanercept

Inactive ingredients: mannitol, sucrose, tromethamine v5

Issue Date: 10/2010

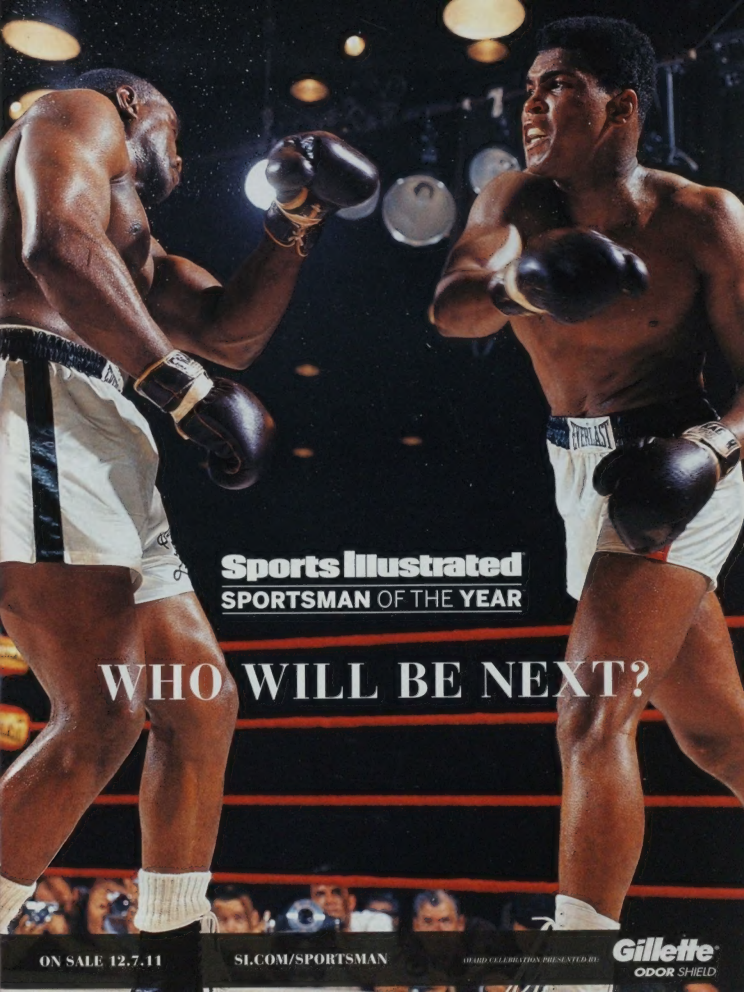
This Medication Guide has been approved by the US Food and Drug Administration.

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Photograph by Peter van Agtmael—Magnum for TIME. Color treated by TIME



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Joe Frazier made Ali great, page 24



I used ThankYou® Points
to give my son a sleepover.
At the museum.



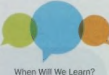
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What Ever Happened to Upward Mobility?



The New Generation Gap

When Will We Learn?

EDITOR'S DESK

The Soldier and The Civilian



In our 88-year history, we have devoted more than 200 covers to the U.S. military. The American soldier was Person of the Year in 2003, and this August, we ran a cover story by Joe Klein called "The New Greatest Generation," about the men and women who have served with distinction in Iraq and Afghanistan and then applied their skills to nation building at home. But we have never done a cover story quite like this week's, which coincides with Veterans Day, about how the American military and American society have grown apart. You have to knock on more than 150 doors in most American neighborhoods to find a household with a family member in the military. This was not always true. My father is a World War II vet, and it seemed as though every other father I knew when I was a boy was one too. The framers of the Constitution believed government must "provide for the common defence," and our cover reckons with the question of why it is so uncommon these days for Americans to serve.

The story is by our longtime military expert and Pulitzer Prize winner Mark Thompson, who traces a troubling separation between the American public and the troops who protect it. Mark is also responsible for our military blog, *Battleland*, on TIME.com. Since 9/11 he has written extensively about wounded troops, who face even longer odds of reconnecting with society. If you want to help these vets, we can recommend a number of good organizations, including the Fisher House Foundation (fisherhouse.org), which gives military families a place to stay while wounded loved ones recover; the National Military Family Association (militaryfamily.org); and UCLA's Operation Mend (operationmend.ucla.edu).

Rich

Richard Stengel, MANAGING EDITOR

WHAT EVER HAPPENED TO UPWARD MOBILITY?



THE CONVERSATION

'You're not snuffing out the American Dream, are you?'

veteran journalist Bob Woodward asked TIME editor Rick Stengel in a discussion on MSNBC about social mobility. His remark was prompted by TIME's cover package "Can You Still Move Up in America?" which in part described how much harder it is now to get ahead in the U.S. than in many European countries. The data jolted readers too—one of whom responded in an e-mail that the American Dream was alive and well but "has just been obscured" by a younger generation that doesn't grasp what's required to achieve it. Meanwhile, sportswriters and fans passed around Sean Gregory's TIME.com piece "Magic Johnson's Lasting Impact on HIV," on the 20th anniversary of the star's historic disclosure. A top read on the site, the story was a powerful reminder of how Johnson altered our perception of HIV. "That is Magic's true legacy," noted NBC's blog Pro Basketball Talk. "That changed more lives than all the no-look passes put together."



Up Next ...

For Veterans Day, TIME.com is featuring a multimedia series of richly reported pieces by TIME's Nate Rawlings, a former Army officer who served in Iraq. Readers can chat about military issues with him and fellow staffers Mark Thompson, who wrote this week's cover story, and TIME International editor Jim Frederick on Twitter on Nov. 11 at 2:30 p.m. ET, using the hashtag #TIMEVets.

IS NATURE CALLING DAY AND NIGHT?



Jalyn®

(dutasteride and tamsulosin HCl)

Capsules

0.5 mg/0.4 mg

Going Frequently • Incomplete Emptying • Waking Up to Go • Flow Starts and Stops • Trouble Going

For guys with symptomatic benign prostatic hyperplasia (BPH), nature calls a little too often. JALYN can help reduce urinary symptoms of BPH in men with an enlarged prostate. JALYN is not approved for the prevention of prostate cancer.


It's time to ask your doctor if JALYN is right for you.

www.JALYN.com


Important Safety Information About JALYN

- JALYN is for adult men only. Women should not take or touch JALYN due to risk of a specific birth defect. If a woman comes in contact with leaking JALYN Capsules, she should wash the contact area immediately with soap and water.
- Do not take JALYN if you are allergic to dutasteride, finasteride, tamsulosin, or any of the ingredients in JALYN.
- JALYN may cause rare and serious allergic reactions, including: swelling of your face, tongue, or throat, and serious skin reactions, such as skin peeling. Get medical help right away if you have these serious allergic reactions.
- JALYN may cause a sudden drop in blood pressure upon standing, especially when starting treatment, which may cause you to faint, or feel dizzy or lightheaded. Avoid driving or operating hazardous equipment when starting or restarting JALYN.
- Tell your doctor about all the medicines you take, including prescription and non-prescription medicines, vitamins, and herbal supplements. JALYN and other medicines may affect each other, causing side effects.
- Some types of medicines should not be taken with JALYN, including: ketoconazole, an antifungal medication, which if taken with JALYN can increase levels of tamsulosin, a component of JALYN; and alpha-blockers, like tamsulosin, which if taken with JALYN may cause fainting, dizziness, or feeling lightheaded.
- Some types of medicines should be used with caution when taken with JALYN, including: erythromycin, paroxetine, or terbinafine, which when taken with JALYN can increase levels of tamsulosin, a component of JALYN; cimetidine; certain types of medicines that are commonly used to treat erectile dysfunction, which when taken with JALYN may cause fainting, dizziness, or feeling lightheaded; and warfarin.
- Only your healthcare provider can tell if your symptoms are due to BPH or a more serious condition like prostate cancer. See your doctor for regular exams.
- JALYN may cause serious side effects including a higher chance of a more serious form of prostate cancer.
- Your healthcare provider may check you for other prostate problems, including prostate cancer, before you start and while you take JALYN. A blood test called PSA (prostate-specific antigen) is sometimes used to see if you might have prostate cancer. JALYN will reduce the amount of PSA measured in your blood. Your healthcare provider is aware of this effect and can still use PSA to see if you might have prostate cancer. Increases in your PSA levels while on treatment with JALYN (even if the PSA levels are in the normal range) should be evaluated by your healthcare provider.
- Rarely JALYN can cause a painful erection. If this happens get medical help right away.
- Do not donate blood until 6 months after stopping JALYN.
- Before you take JALYN, tell your doctor if you: have a history of low blood pressure, plan to have cataract surgery, are allergic to sulfa medications, take medicines to treat high blood pressure, have liver problems, or have any other medical conditions.
- The most common side effects include: ejaculation problems, trouble getting or keeping an erection (impotence), a decrease in sex drive (libido), decreased amount of semen released during sex, dizziness, enlarged or painful breasts (if you notice breast lumps or nipple discharge, you should talk to your healthcare provider), and runny nose.

Please see the next page for Patient Information about JALYN.

 GlaxoSmithKline

You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit www.fda.gov/medwatch, or call 1-800-FDA-1088.

 **YOU** If you don't have prescription coverage, don't worry. Your medical costs with GSK are low. Call 1-800-445-4545 for more information.

PATIENT INFORMATION

JALYN™ (JAY-LIN) (dutasteride and tamsulosin hydrochloride) Capsules

JALYN is for use by men only.

Read this patient information before you start taking JALYN and each time you get a refill. There may be new information. This information does not take the place of talking with your healthcare provider about your medical condition or your treatment.

What is JALYN?

JALYN is a prescription medicine that contains 2 medicines: dutasteride and tamsulosin. JALYN is used to treat the symptoms of benign prostatic hyperplasia (BPH) in men with an enlarged prostate.

Who should not take JALYN?

Do Not Take JALYN if you are:

- pregnant or could become pregnant. JALYN may harm your unborn baby. Pregnant women should not touch JALYN Capsules. If a woman who is pregnant with a male baby gets enough JALYN in her body by swallowing or touching JALYN, the male baby may be born with sex organs that are not normal. If a pregnant woman or woman of childbearing potential comes in contact with leaking JALYN Capsules, the contact area should be washed immediately with soap and water.
- a child or teenager.
- allergic to dutasteride, tamsulosin, or any of the ingredients in JALYN. See the end of this page for a complete list of ingredients in JALYN.
- taking another medicine that contains an alpha-blocker.
- allergic to other 5 alpha-reductase inhibitors, for example, PROSCAR® (finasteride) Tablets.

What should I tell my healthcare provider before taking JALYN?

Before you take JALYN, tell your healthcare provider if you:

- have a history of low blood pressure
- take medicines to treat high blood pressure
- plan to have cataract surgery
- have liver problems
- are allergic to sulfa medications
- have any other medical conditions

Tell your healthcare provider about all the medicines you take, including prescription and non-prescription medicines, vitamins, and herbal supplements. JALYN and other medicines may affect each other, causing side effects. JALYN may affect the way other medicines work, and other medicines may affect how JALYN works.

Know the medicines you take. Keep a list of them to show your healthcare provider and pharmacist when you get a new medicine.

How should I take JALYN?

- Take JALYN exactly as your healthcare provider tells you to take it.
- Swallow JALYN Capsules whole. Do not crush, chew, or open JALYN Capsules because the contents of the capsule may irritate your lips, mouth, or throat.
- Take your JALYN 1 time each day, about 30 minutes after the same meal every day. For example, you may take JALYN 30 minutes after dinner every day.
- If you miss a dose, you can take it later that same day, 30 minutes after a meal. Do not take 2 JALYN Capsules in the same day. If you stop or forget to take JALYN for several days, talk with your healthcare provider before starting again.
- If you take too much JALYN, call your healthcare provider or go to the nearest hospital emergency room right away.

What should I avoid while taking JALYN?

- Avoid driving, operating machinery, or other dangerous activities when starting treatment with JALYN until you know how JALYN affects you. JALYN can cause a sudden drop in your blood pressure, especially at the start of treatment. A sudden drop in blood pressure may cause you to faint, feel dizzy or lightheaded.
- You should not donate blood while taking JALYN or for 6 months after you have stopped JALYN. This is important to prevent pregnant women from receiving JALYN through blood transfusions.

What are the possible side effects of JALYN?

JALYN may cause serious side effects, including:

- **Decreased blood pressure.** JALYN may cause a sudden drop in your blood pressure upon standing from a sitting or lying position, especially at the start of treatment. Symptoms of low blood pressure may include:
 - fainting
 - dizziness
 - feeling lightheaded

• Rare and serious allergic reactions, including:

- swelling of your face, tongue, or throat
 - serious skin reactions, such as skin peeling
- Get medical help right away if you have these serious allergic reactions.

• Higher chance of a more serious form of prostate cancer.

- **Eye problems during cataract surgery.** During cataract surgery, a condition called intraoperative floppy iris syndrome (IFIS) can happen if you take or have taken JALYN in the past. If you need to have cataract surgery, tell your surgeon if you take or have taken JALYN.

- **A painful erection that will not go away.** Rarely, JALYN can cause a painful erection (priapism), which cannot be relieved by having sex. If this happens,

get medical help right away. If priapism is not treated, there could be lasting damage to your penis, including not being able to have an erection.

The most common side effects of JALYN include:

- ejaculation problems
- trouble getting or keeping an erection (impotence)
- a decrease in sex drive (libido)
- dizziness
- enlarged or painful breasts. If you notice breast lumps or nipple discharge, you should talk to your healthcare provider.
- runny nose

Dutasteride, an ingredient of JALYN, has been shown to reduce sperm count, semen volume, and sperm movement. However, the effect of JALYN on male fertility is not known.

Prostate-Specific Antigen (PSA) Test: Your healthcare provider may check you for other prostate problems, including prostate cancer, before you start and while you take JALYN. A blood test called PSA (prostate-specific antigen) is sometimes used to see if you might have prostate cancer. JALYN will reduce the amount of PSA measured in your blood. Your healthcare provider is aware of this effect and can still use PSA to see if you might have prostate cancer. Increases in your PSA levels while on treatment with JALYN (even if the PSA levels are in the normal range) should be evaluated by your healthcare provider.

Tell your healthcare provider if you have any side effect that bothers you or that does not go away.

These are not all the possible side effects with JALYN. For more information, ask your healthcare provider or pharmacist.

Call your doctor for medical advice about side effects. You may report side effects to the FDA at 1-800-FDA-1088.

How should I store JALYN?

- Store JALYN Capsules at room temperature (59° to 86°F or 15° to 30°C).
- JALYN Capsules may become deformed and/or discolored if kept at high temperatures.
- Do not use or touch JALYN if your capsules are deformed, discolored, or leaking.
- Safely throw away medicine that is no longer needed.

Keep JALYN and all medicines out of the reach of children.

Medicines are sometimes prescribed for purposes other than those listed in a patient page. Do not use JALYN for a condition for which it was not prescribed. Do not give JALYN to other people, even if they have the same symptoms that you have. It may harm them.

This patient information page summarizes the most important information about JALYN. If you would like more information, talk with your healthcare provider. You can ask your pharmacist or healthcare provider for information about JALYN that is written for health professionals.

For more information, go to www.JALYN.com or call 1-888-825-5249.

What are the ingredients in JALYN?


Active ingredients:

dutasteride and tamsulosin hydrochloride
Inactive ingredients: black ink, butylated hydroxytoluene, carraagenan, FD&C yellow 6, ferric oxide (yellow), gelatin (from certified BSE-free bovine sources), glycerin, hydroxypropylcellulose, iron oxide red, methacrylic acid copolymer dispersion, microcrystalline cellulose, mono-di-glycerides of caprylic/capric acid, potassium chloride, talc, titanium dioxide, and triethyl citrate.

How does JALYN work?

JALYN contains 2 medications, dutasteride and tamsulosin. These 2 medications work in different ways to improve symptoms of BPH. Dutasteride shrinks the enlarged prostate and tamsulosin relaxes muscles in the prostate and neck of the bladder. These 2 medications, when used together, can improve symptoms of BPH better than either medication when used alone.

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Upward Motion

The idea of achieving great success through hard work and pulled-up bootstraps is compelling and romantic ["What Ever Happened to Upward Mobility?"]

Nov. 14]. But we can't all be in the upper two-fifths. And like it or not, our nation's challenge should be to make sure the lower fifth can enjoy a reasonable quality of life.

Michael Wegner, ATHENS, GA.

With regard to your question of "What Ever Happened to Upward Mobility?": What ever happened to deferred gratification, responsible decisionmaking, persistent attempts at achievement and a diligent search for opportunity?

Andrew Colyer, BEL AIR, MD.

It is still easier to move up in America than in India. Try competing for resources with 1.2 billion people vs. 312 million. That's why I came here.

Preetham Grandhi, WHITE PLAINS, N.Y.

Education Lessons

Fareed Zakaria fails to mention a key element of education reform: parental involvement ["When Will We Learn?" Nov. 14]. Behavior, attendance and attitude are all contingent upon parents.

David Kelley, FORT SMITH, ARK.

Perhaps I shouldn't have read Zakaria's article after spending the last hour of my 10-hour teaching day looking for a copier that worked and then hand-stapling over 100 tests. I was probably a bit cranky to start. Then again, maybe I am a little tired of people who have never taught a roomful of 34 high school students telling me I am doing it wrong. I too love the Khan Academy model, but how would I get all my students to watch the Khan videos at home, on their own time, when many do not have a working computer and some



do little, if any, homework? (And by the way, I do not teach at an inner-city or rural school; I teach in a wealthy suburb.) Instead of blaming us teachers, ask us what would actually improve education. Here's my answer: 1) Deal with childhood poverty, 2) hold students partly responsible for their education so they meet us at least halfway, and 3) give teachers more time to prepare and receive professional development. A working copier would help too.

Laurie Floyd, HOWELL, N.J.

Generation Gaps

As an 82-year-old, I am considered part of the Silent Generation, but many of us are far from silent or predictable ["The New

Generation Gap," Nov. 14]. I intend to actively campaign for Obama's re-election. Not only do Republicans alarm me, they scare the hell out of me! Silent, indeed.

Elizabeth Zilli, ALBUQUERQUE, N.M.

Your stereotype of someone over 65 as an old man with a cane is an insult. Turning 70 is the new 50. Get with it.

Win McIntyre, GALWAY, N.Y.

Loans Repaid

We at Bates College are disappointed that in "I Owe U," TIME reported that Bates doesn't "offer the generous grants the elite [colleges] do" [Oct. 31]. More than 40% of our currently enrolled students receive Bates grants totaling more than \$27 million. Over the past five years, average cumulative federal student loan debt among Bates graduates has ranged from \$11,572 (in 2006) to \$12,301 (in 2010). Even when alternative loans are factored in, average cumulative debt among Bates students was \$18,699, compared with the national average of more than \$24,000. Only 38% of the Bates class of 2010 graduated with any type of education debt. Finally, Bates students repay their loans. Its most recent cohort's default rate was 0%.

Nancy J. Cable, President, Bates College, LEWISTON, MAINE

SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

Our story "Thought Control," on a new device called the BodyWave, misidentified a manager at an Ontario Power Generation plant who has used the technology [Nov. 14]. His name is Richard Lorenzin.

WRITE TO US

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Send a letter: **TIME Magazine Letters, Time & Life Building, New York, NY 10020**. Letters should include the writer's full name, address and home telephone and may be edited for purposes of clarity and space



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and supporting small businesses.

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OIL COMPANIES SHOULD PUT THEIR PROFITS TO GOOD USE.

WE AGREE.

Pat Yarrington

Patricia Yarrington
Vice President & Chief Financial Officer
Chevron

Briefing

'I have never acted inappropriately with anyone. Period.'

1. **HERMAN CAIN**, Republican presidential candidate, after a fourth woman accused him of sexually harassing her when he was head of the National Restaurant Association in the 1990s

'This is a tragedy, one of the great sorrows of my life. With the benefit of hindsight, I wish I had done more.'

2. **JOE PATERNO**, Penn State football coach, on the arrest of his former assistant Jerry Sandusky on charges of child sex abuse at the university; Paterno announced he will retire at the end of the season

'The program never really stopped.'

3. **DAVID ALBRIGHT**, a former International Atomic Energy Agency official, on recent intelligence findings that suggest Iran is working on making a nuclear weapon

'It's not like they are just selling toothbrushes. It goes much deeper than that.'

4. **MOLLY KATCHPOLE**, 22, on why she started an online petition against Bank of America's planned \$5 monthly debit card fee; the company announced Nov. 1 that it wouldn't implement the fee

'I cannot bear Netanyahu. He's a liar.'

5. **NICOLAS SARKOZY**, French President, discussing Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu with President Obama in a private conversation that was recorded by the press at the G20 summit



549

Number of living U.S. vets who served continuously in the military starting in World War II and ending after the 1991 Gulf War

35

Number of new drugs approved by the FDA in the 2011 fiscal year, an approval rate that was exceeded just once in the past decade



520

Number of days six astronauts spent in a mock spaceship in Moscow to see how humans would react to conditions on Mars

25,000

Number of signatures now required before the White House will respond to petitions on its We the People website after two recent petitions about aliens garnered more than the mandatory 5,000



LightBox





Among the faithful

A young Indian Muslim girl stands while others pray in New Delhi during 'Id al-Adha, the Festival of Sacrifice, which follows the end of the hajj, the annual pilgrimage to Mecca

Photograph by Gaziader Osain lightbox.time.com

World



A mock rocket emits smoke during an Israeli drill outside Tel Aviv

Drumbeats of War or a Smoke Screen?

1 | ISRAEL Four times a year the International Atomic Energy Agency issues reports on Iran's nuclear program, making determined throat clearing a quarterly ritual. The latest update, GOV/2011/65, was always expected to bring more than that: for the first time, the U.N. watchdog laid out a strong case that Iran is working toward the production of an atomic weapon. But when it was circulated Nov. 8, the report landed with even greater impact because Israel had spent the previous week letting the world believe it was on the verge of launching air attacks against the Iranian facilities the IAEA lists over 24 pages.

The threat of such an operation is real enough. Israel has been equipping its military for a long-range bombing mission of that

kind for more than a decade. But the whisper campaign made little military sense. Surprise is everything in a cross-border strike, as Israel demonstrated to a startled world in 1981, when its jets took out Iraq's Osirak reactor, and again in 2007, when it hit a secret Syrian reactor so discreetly that word took weeks to filter out.

"If Israel were actually considering a highly

dangerous strike on a well-armed enemy, would they be kicking the idea around for everyone to see?" asks Columbia University professor Gary Sick. "But if the real reason is propaganda, intended to stir up support for new sanctions against Iran, then the more public, the better."

Just so, Israeli officials clammed up following the release of the report, the better to assess momentum toward "lethal sanctions" on Tehran. Even if successful, a military action could produce fallout of a different kind, providing Iran's mullahs with a pretext to hold even tighter to power, making fatter targets of U.S. troops in Iraq and Afghanistan and leading to missile attacks on Israel from Iran's client Hizbullah. Meanwhile, even the relatively mild current sanctions are biting. Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad complained to parliament last month that "our banks cannot make international transactions anymore."

Now the challenge becomes persuading China and Russia to back additional sanctions at the U.N. Security Council and somehow fashioning them to hit Tehran's oil and gas revenues without sending global petroleum prices through the roof. Tough odds, but eight years after the run-up to Iraq, we have a debate informed by U.N. inspectors and a military option mulled over in public to encourage a diplomatic solution. Now there's a new world order. —KARL VICK/JERUSALEM

Key Iranian nuclear facilities that may be targeted by Israel



ON TIME.COM

'They use their money as a ballot. I was very impressed.'

AI WEIWEI, Chinese dissident and artist speaking of the transparency demands from activists in Hong Kong's recent protests against the government's proposed new extradition to a British colony, the author of *Artists at the Edge*





Hail to El Jefe

2 | NICARAGUA Socialist dynamo Daniel Ortega, above in a mural in the capital, Managua, won re-election as President by a landslide. Once a Marxist revolutionary, the Sandinista leader pledged to stay the course he has charted since returning to office in 2006—pork-barrel populism coupled with free-market reforms. Critics see a dictatorial streak in Ortega and fear the further solidification of his rule.

More Empty Promises

3 | SYRIA Drawing on evidence from Syrian rights groups and the testimony of refugees, the U.N. estimated at least 3,500 civilians have died since protests against the regime of President Bashar Assad began earlier this year. About 60 have been killed since Nov. 1, when Damascus pledged to the Arab League to take its army off the streets. But the government keeps deploying tanks and heavy artillery against protesters.



An opposition demonstrator wields burning furniture in the capital, Monrovia

Not Much Peace

4 | LIBERIA President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, recent co-recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize, appeared to win a presidential runoff election in the tiny West African nation. But the vote took place amid a boycott called by opposing candidates angry over alleged fraud in the first round of voting and the deaths of opposition activists following clashes with the police. Sirleaf appealed for calm; her first election victory in 2005 followed the end of a bitter 14-year civil war.

INDIA

15,048

Runs scored in test matches by Indian cricket star Sachin Tendulkar: he's the first player to reach 15,000 runs in the long history of the sport



Richaaz/Danar

Nation

The Big Questions

By Mark Halperin

Why haven't allegations of sexual misconduct against Herman Cain finished him off?

They might soon, but for now, Cain has two factors on his side. Many of the Tea Party outsiders who are drawn to the political neophyte's economic campaign don't give a whit about old harassment charges and dismiss news coverage of the allegations as a left-wing conspiracy. Second, there is ample precedent in presidential politics (see Clinton, Bill, 1992, and McCain, John, 2008) of campaigns overcoming personal scandals by discrediting the women in question and the



news organizations that cover them.

In the meantime, are some Republicans cooling on Cain?

Yes, indeed. Cain stands to lose support everywhere, but especially among women, Evangelicals, elected officials and those looking for a safe bet to send into a general elec-

tion against Barack Obama. Much of the political press, including some conservative commentators, is convinced that Cain will soon be eliminated as a true contender. This will have a real bearing on his chances of staying on message—and in the race.

Who would benefit most from his fall?

Mitt Romney, the frontrunner, again could take advantage of the dramatic breakdown of a top rival. Newt Gingrich is on something of a roll, leaving him best positioned to scoop up newly unattached supporters. But in Austin, Texas Governor Rick Perry's campaign is hoping that new TV advertising and a stepped-up schedule will give their man a chance to snatch the Tea Party mantle from Cain's slumping shoulders.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ELECTION ROUNDPUP ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

NUMBER

53%

Percentage of constituents who voted to recall Arizona senate president Russell Pearce, architect of the state's tough immigration law



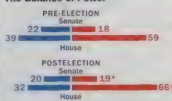
OHIO

Labor Scores Landslide Win

In a hard-fought triumph, Democrats and their labor-union allies repealed a controversial law that curbed collective-bargaining rights for teachers, cops and firefighters. More than 60% of Ohioans rejected a ballot referendum on the law, Republican governor John Kasich's signature piece of legislation. "The people have spoken," Kasich said.

Christian activist Les Riley petitioned to define life as beginning at fertilization

The Balance of Power



VIRGINIA

GOP Gains Mean Trouble for Obama

Republicans tightened their grip on the commonwealth's house of delegates and appear poised to take control of the senate, where the balance of power hinges on a GOP challenger eking out a race that was too close to call on election night. A victory would make the GOP the dominant party in Richmond and foreshadow the difficulty President Obama will face in repeating his narrow 2008 victory in this pivotal swing state.

* GOP RACE LEADING REPUBLICANS IN A DEAD HEAT
† THE DEMOCRATIC-CONTROLLED HOUSE REPEALED THE 2009 BUDGET CUT
* THE RACE TOO CLOSE TO CALL

MISSISSIPPI

'Personhood' Dies in the Bible Belt

Nearly 60% of voters in this staunchly conservative state blocked a constitutional amendment that would have declared that life begins at the moment of conception. The "personhood" initiative, which would have banned all abortions, was designed to spur a Supreme Court challenge to *Roe v. Wade*.



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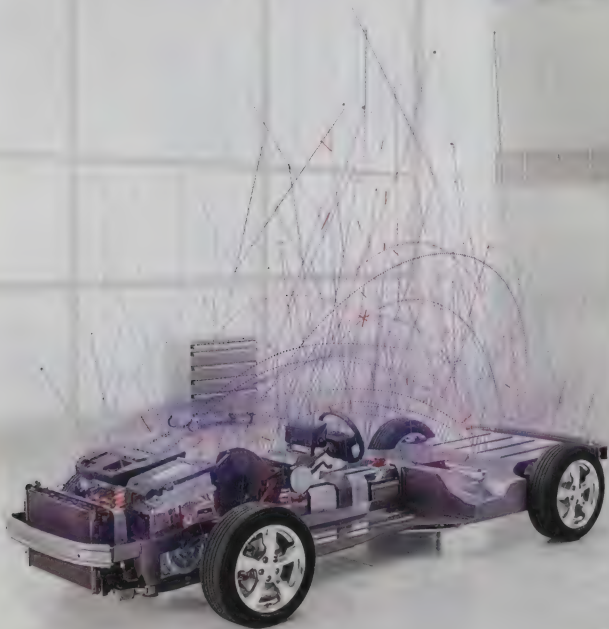
charles SCHWAB

Smarter business for a Smarter Planet:

How to build a car fueled by software.

When you look at the Chevrolet Volt, are you looking at steel and plastic, or are you looking at software? The Volt, an electric car with gas-powered extended range, contains over 10 million lines of code, more software than you'd find in the avionics and navigation systems of a modern fighter jet. Chevrolet turned to IBM to help them design the control systems and software for the Volt, allowing them to deliver this revolutionary car in far less time than development typically takes. Using the Rational® platform to design the car allowed engineers around the world to collaborate in real time, which helped the Volt become the 2011 *Motor Trend* Car of the Year®. A smarter business is built on smarter software, systems and services.

Let's build a smarter planet. ibm.com/collaborate



Penn State Has No Defense

In failing to stop a predator, did JoePa put football first?

BY SEAN GREGORY

THE PENN STATE UNIVERSITY football motto is "Success with honor," and no coach seemed to live up to that credo more than Joe Paterno, the Nittany Lions leader for more than 45 years. Paterno, known simply as JoePa in a place in central Pennsylvania called Happy Valley, has won 409 games—a Division I record—and two national championships. His players usually graduate, no small feat in major college athletics. "Coaches have the same obligation as all teachers," Paterno, 84, wrote in *Paterno: By the Book*, his 1989 autobiography. "Except that we may have more moral and life-shaping influence over our players than anyone else outside of their families."

Moral influence—no one seemed to wield it better than Paterno. We now know that no one fumbled it worse. Because of his failure to report a child-sex-abuse case directly to authorities—the state attorney general's office charged a former, longtime Paterno assistant, Jerry Sandusky, 67, with 40 counts related to sexual abuse of eight minors, and more alleged victims have come forward—Paterno says he will retire at the end of the season. He may lose his job sooner. He certainly has already lost his reputation as a role model coach.

By informing a superior that a graduate assistant had witnessed Sandusky's alleged sexual contact with a 10-year-

old boy—Paterno says he was not told it was rape—the Penn State coach met his legal obligation. But what about that moral influence? Football coaches at big, state-run institutions have more clout than many governors. Paterno, the biggest man on campus, chose to punt this problem to a PSU bureaucrat.

For a coach like Paterno to be oblivious to everything beyond football isn't unusual. Like so many political leaders, big-time college coaches cocoon themselves in power and hold on to

it at all costs. That's the price we've paid for our lucrative college franchises. In the U.S., unwieldy, multimillion-dollar sports businesses are housed in universities. The danger occurs when a school's prestige, psyche and fundraising come to rely on its football team instead of just being enhanced by it.

This cocoon poisoned Penn State and clouded JoePa's judgment. He has been under pressure to win or retire for several years. He and Penn State officials, including

school president Graham Spanier—who is reportedly going to lose his job—may have feared for the reputation of their sacrosanct football program. So they tried to investigate Sandusky themselves. At best, they botched it; at worst, they covered it up.

In an evaluation of Penn State's leadership, from coach to president, Sandusky's guilt or innocence is not the point. A trusted assistant offered a sickening eyewitness account. The mere risk that Sandusky could abuse again demanded a call to the cops, from Paterno, the administrators, anybody.

Even worse, neither Paterno nor anyone else at Penn State had the decency to reach out to someone who may have been the victim of a terrible crime within its walls. The school's power structure was so isolated, so tightly controlled, that after the alleged attack, Sandusky was still afforded unfettered access to the PSU facilities. Incredibly, he was barred only from taking children to campus. Penn State leaders were aware of the criminal investigation. They testified before a grand jury. How could they let this guy hang around?

In his book, Paterno talks about the importance for his players of embracing campus life. "The hero whose picture you see most often may also have the least emotional experience," Paterno writes. "[He] is probably uncertain about who he is, and who he's supposed to be. Inside, he's tender and fragile." Just like those boys who Sandusky may have abused. Coach Paterno, why forget about them?



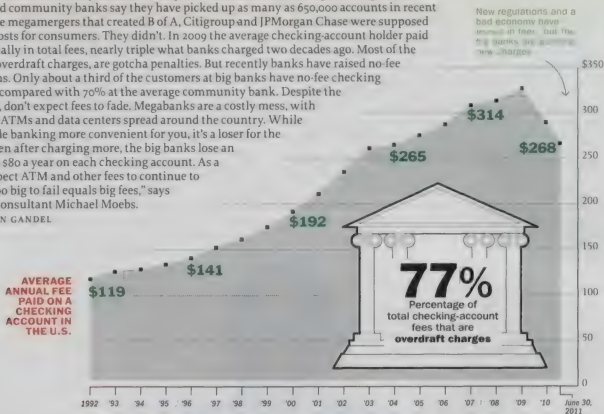
JoePa's shame Paterno, 84, sets a high moral standard for his players. But his passive approach to an abuse case fails his own test

Economy

Free for a Fee. Why megabanks can't stop charging you

The recent attempt by Bank of America to charge customers \$60 a year to use their debit cards—the bank eventually backed off the plan—has increased anti-big-bank rage. Credit unions and community banks say they have picked up as many as 650,000 accounts in recent weeks. The megamergers that created B of A, Citigroup and JPMorgan Chase were supposed to lower costs for consumers. They didn't. In 2009 the average checking-account holder paid \$327 annually in total fees, nearly triple what banks charged two decades ago. Most of the fees, like overdraft charges, are gotcha penalties. But recently banks have raised no-fee minimums. Only about a third of the customers at big banks have no-fee checking accounts, compared with 70% at the average community bank. Despite the pushback, don't expect fees to fade. Megabanks are a costly mess, with branches, ATMs and data centers spread around the country. While that's made banking more convenient for you, it's a loser for the banks. Even after charging more, the big banks lose an estimated \$80 a year on each checking account. As a result, expect ATM and other fees to continue to climb. "Too big to fail equals big fees," says banking consultant Michael Moebis.

—STEPHEN GANDEL



PERCENTAGE OF ACCOUNTS THAT OFFER FREE CHECKING

Major banks

Community banks

76% Credit unions

AMOUNT PER YEAR AN INDIVIDUAL CHECKING ACCOUNT COSTS BANKS

Major bank \$350-\$450

Community bank \$175-\$200

Source: Moebis Services Inc.

SPORTS

No Foul. The NBA lockout will have limited economic impact



The prospect that the NBA lockout could extend to a full season seems like bad news for the economy as well as for fans. Games have already been canceled through November. But a 2000 study of past labor disputes found no impact on 37 metro economies with pro-sports franchises. In fact, cities appeared to perform better in years games were canceled.

How so? Sporting events are just one option for people spending entertainment dollars. Without sports, fans tend to spend their money at restaurants or movie theaters.

University of Maryland at Baltimore County economists Dennis Coates and Brad Humphreys, authors of the study, say sporting events also cost cities more for public safety. Eliminate the games and cities either borrow less or collect less in taxes—a wash. Those who work at the arena—vendors, concessionaires, ushers—are idled at a time when low-skill workers are having trouble finding other jobs. Burger joints and bars near the arenas will take a hit. But cities will survive without hoops. They just won't be as much fun. —SEAN GREGORY

TRAVEL

Downwardly Mobile. Bus travel is up this year



AIR TRAVEL +2% BUS TRAVEL +20%

Sources: Air Transport Association; Joseph Schwieterman, DePaul University

GECKONOMICS



201

*A Case Study in Saving People Money
on More Than Just Car Insurance.*

Car

Cycle

RV

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What Would Bill Do? Clinton spoke with TIME about his new book, *Back to Work*, and how to fix the economy

The 42nd President talked with TIME's managing editor, Rick Stengel.

So what has happened to the economy and the U.S. over the past 30 years?

We face more intense competition from around the world, and at the same time we have adopted this antigovernment philosophy, which has mostly been anti-tax and antiregulation, so that we've dramatically increased the national debt. So we have to figure out a way to put the country in the future business. We have to get a hold of the long-term debt problem, and we have to revitalize the private sector. And you can't do it with an anti-government strategy. You have to have a smart government and a strong economy.

What is it that Democrats and Republicans don't understand about how to make the economy work again?

Republicans believe that if you cut taxes, especially for upper-income people, that's always going to work, no matter what it does to the deficit and to our investment in the future. What the Democrats have to understand is, if they want to preserve a health care program for people who

need it and the benefits of Medicare, we have to be willing to change the delivery system. We're spending too much on the way we finance health care and the way we pay for it. The Republicans can't be completely allergic to taxes. The Democrats can't be completely allergic to changes in health care delivery.

Why are banks and corporations sitting on so much cash?

Well, the banks have about \$2 trillion in cash uncommitted to loans. They could loan in theory, at conservative ratios of 10 to 1, \$20 trillion. Obviously, if that happened, the recession would be over in 15 seconds. Pepperdine did a study showing that 40% of the small businesses said they would expand their operations and hire more people if they could get credit, and they can't get credit. We've got to clean these bank books up. Right now, everybody's frozen. And by far the biggest thing we could do is to have a more aggressive move on the home-mortgage problem.

What else will make banks start spending cash?

You've got a lot of cash being held over-

Too late now Clinton believes Obama should have raised the debt ceiling while he still had a majority in Congress

seas. So what we should do now is say, You bring this money back while we're debating the corporate-tax reform for free if you can prove you increase net employment. For everybody you increase net employment on, you get that much credit for free. If you want to spend it on whatever you want, pay the long-term capital gains rate, 15%.

It seems almost impossible to get Congress to approve anything in any kind of bipartisan way.


If [the President] can't get Congress to act, he's got to do everything he can by Executive Order. I understand why he's frustrated, because a lot of these proposals that he's made are ideas that were first proposed by Republicans, who are all of a sudden now against them and seem to be against them just because [Democrats are] for them. But he ought to keep fighting for his ideas in Congress. These kinds of financial/housing crises, if you go back hundreds of years, tend to take five to 10 years to get over.

How can President Obama get re-elected with an unemployment rate hovering around 9%?

I think the President will be able to rely on the fact that he has tried to come up with a serious and comprehensive plan. The question is, Will they behave the way voters typically behave in these circumstances? Or will they understand that this was a different sort of recession and then evaluate the competing candidates in terms of whether their ideas are more or less likely to get us out of the fix we're in? You know, I think people are pretty smart once they understand the deal.

You balanced the budget and cut the size of the government. How come you're not a hero of the Tea Party?

I thought I should've been their favorite politician. I think because I didn't do it according to the ideology. I raised taxes and cut spending. I did it with a mix of policies that also left us money to invest in our future and in our quality of life. ■

A man in a red vest and tan pants stands in a farmers market, holding two small green vegetables. A woman in a white sweater stands behind a table of tomatoes. The background shows market stalls and trees.

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Health&Science

Mama's Boys. How Mom helps some male monkeys find mates



Living with mom rarely boosts a guy's sex appeal—unless you're a muriqui monkey. In other monkey species, a dominant male may father most of the babies. But a new study of one muriqui troop found 22 infants produced by 13 males. The secret? Males stay in their birth troops, where the stability fosters sharing.

CANCER

Tumor Vaccine

Vaccines are a powerful way to prime the body's immune system to fight bacteria and viruses, so why not use them to confront another unwelcome intruder, cancer? Researchers have tested a shot containing snippets of proteins found on breast and ovarian cancer cells, and the results are promising. Although the study involved only 26 women and did not compare them with others given a placebo, it hinted that the body's immune defenses can be trained to recognize tumor cells. —ALICE PARK



WHEW!

Bullet Dodged



Earth didn't get clobbered, but asteroid 2005 YU55, seen above during its approach, passed closer than the moon. Had it hit Earth, it would have gouged out a 4-mile (6.5 km) crater and caused 70-ft. (21 m) tsunamis. Thousands more like it are out there.

DRUGS

Too Many Pain Pills

Over the past decade, more Americans died from overdoses of prescription painkillers than from heroin and cocaine use combined, according to government health officials. Most of the deaths were due to misuse of the medications—not to treat pain but to achieve a narcotic high. Recreational abuse has fueled a 300% surge in sales since 1999 of drugs like oxycodone, hydrocodone and methadone. Often, the more users get, the

more they crave, accelerating the cycle.

How are people getting the drugs? In some cases, patients' doctor-shop to keep themselves supplied, moving from physician to physician, each of whom writes new prescriptions. Some shadier dispensers sell the drugs without verifying any information with physicians at all. Doctors may also feel pressure to prescribe freely, as the medical community has been treating pain more aggressively after decades of dismissing it as an inevitable part of illness. —A.P.



AUTISM

67%

Percentage by which the number of brain neurons in autistic children exceeds that of kids without the disorder

NUTRITION

The War on Sugar

No big surprise: school policies banning the sale of sugared beverages don't stop kids from drinking soda elsewhere. Lowering teen intake, say experts, will take community-wide efforts to limit access to this liquid candy both on and off school grounds.



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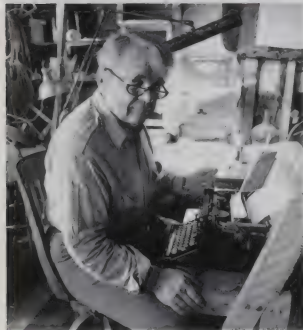
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Milestones



DIED

Andy Rooney

By Morley Safer

In 1967 I managed to get into China during the Cultural Revolution to film a documentary. When I got back, I got a telegram from Andy Rooney, who died Nov. 4 at 92. It was a really sweet, generous accolade, and I met him the next day for the first time. As a writer, he had a remarkable eye for finding that one word or one detail that resonates with a large audience. That really was his gift—the ability to write or speak to people—that struck a chord, even if they disagreed with him.

When most of us write, there's a pause between the thought and hitting those keys. One reason Andy got into trouble sometimes was that what ignited his brain was immediately transcribed onto paper or into a microphone.

He used to come into my office once a week, sit down on the sofa and say precisely the same thing for the last 30 years: "When are you going to clean this dump up?" And he should talk, because he had a pretty damn messy office too.

Safer has been a CBS 60 Minutes correspondent for 42 seasons

DIED

Loulou de la Falaise

Loulou de la Falaise, who died on Nov. 5 at 63, was born in postwar Sussex, England, to an aristocratic and fashionable French-English family and had little to do except get by. She did it with vigor. (She liked to say her mother baptized her with a dab of Schiaparelli perfume.) Widely known in the '70s as a muse of Yves Saint Laurent, the bohemian beauty came to oversee parts of his collection, providing hats, jewelry and, most of all, inspiration for his line. For a long time, she objected to the term *muse*, which she found dismissive; had she been born later, she might have had her own major label. Instead she was, if not fashion royalty, then certainly a highly decorated equestrian.



DIED

Joe Frazier

Joe Frazier, the former heavyweight boxing champ who died of liver cancer Nov. 7 at 67, won't go down as the greatest fighter of all time. Muhammad Ali, the man with whom Frazier sparred so epically, owns that distinction. Frazier lived, bitterly, in Ali's shadow. But if Ali defined Frazier, well, Frazier made Ali too. If not for Frazier's greatness—his left hook crumbled opponents, and he defended his heavyweight title four times from 1970 to '73—Ali could not have been called the Greatest. Frazier escaped Jim Crow poverty to become champion of the world, yet Ali would call him an Uncle Tom. Ali may have been the better fighter. But at times, Frazier was the bigger man.

—SEAN GREGORY

DIED

Tom Keith, 64, inventive sound-effects man for radio's *A Prairie Home Companion* for 30 years; Keith worked with just his voice and an array of props.

CONVICTED

Conrad Murray, Michael Jackson's personal physician, of involuntary manslaughter in the pop star's medication-related death in 2009.



DIED

Heavy D (Dwight Arrington Myers), 44, front man for the hip-hop group Heavy D and the Boyz. Famed for the theme song for the TV show *In Living Color*, he recorded three platinum albums and 12 Top 10 singles.

UPHELD

President Obama's health care law, by the U.S. Court of Appeals in the D.C.; five appeals courts have now ruled in favor of the law and one against.

BLOCKED

By a federal judge, graphic FDA warning labels on cigarette packs; the judge said the images constitute advocacy, which may violate rights of free speech.

DIED

Norman Ramsey, 96, Nobel Prize-winning physicist. By examining atoms and molecules, he devised an exact way to keep time, which led to the atomic clock.

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John Sununu



The Hubris of Jon Corzine

MF Global's fall is a tale of arrogance in government and recklessness in business

AS MF GLOBAL TAKES ITS PLACE among the top 10 U.S. bankruptcies of all time, there is some good news for Jon Corzine, the Wall Street investment firm's now departed CEO: arrogance and foolishness are not yet against the law. I say "not yet" because the rhetoric employed by many politicians in the wake of the financial crisis suggests they would prefer to make it so.

Those refrains have been noticeably absent during the past few weeks as MF imploded, filing for Chapter 11 on Halloween and tarnishing the reputation of Corzine, a former Democratic governor and U.S. Senator from New Jersey. Perhaps that's because the left is reluctant to take shots at one of its own.

As a politician, Corzine supported all manner of new regulations for Wall Street banks. But he was unwilling or unable to entertain thoughtful risk management when it came to running his own firm. That's a harsh indictment, but it's true nonetheless: MF Global carried more exposure to shaky European debt than even JPMorgan—a bank many times its size.

The lessons of this teachable moment concern arrogance and moral hazard and should make big government advocates uncomfortable. MF Global presents policymakers with yet another demonstration that all the regulation in the world won't stop humans from making poor decisions, and all the oversight in the world cannot—and should not—prevent firms from going under.

Running a multibillion-dollar company is heady business. All CEOs have their strengths and weaknesses, but not many lack self-confidence. Corzine believed his combination of trading and political experience made him unique. Having

dwelled both on Wall Street and among the political classes, he felt certain that European governments would ultimately protect the value of their sovereign debt and acted on that belief.

When his hubris collided with government activism, the results were disastrous. For the past three years, governments around the world signaled time and again that they were willing to step forward with an answer even when they had none.



The Federal Reserve maneuvered to salvage a struggling Bear Stearns, TARP gave a lifeline to the U.S. banking system, and taxpayers took ownership of Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac. In Europe the 14th debt crisis summit has demonstrated resolve to keep Greece afloat, if not a clear path for getting the job done.

Lost amid this economic activism is the principle that laws should clarify and facilitate the process for dealing with insolvencies but never pretend they can be avoided. To think otherwise constitutes a form of legislative arrogance, one that mirrors Corzine's business arrogance. Too

many lawmakers believe government can oversee, manage or invest with more insight and efficiency than the marketplace. That attitude not only contributed to MF Global's failure, but it has also cost taxpayers billions through multiple policy misadventures.

The financial debacle of Fannie and

Freddie is the work of legislators who believed they could provide subsidized borrowing for the mortgage giants and allow enormous levels of leverage but magically protect taxpayers from the housing market's risks. The cost to date tops \$170 billion. In much the same way, Solyndra was created by legislators who arrogantly believed the Department of Energy would make smarter alternative-energy investments than experienced venture-capital firms. And today the federal government is lending directly to students at or near record levels. Default rates are rising, and President Obama has proposed rules to allow public-service employees to walk away from their debts after just 10 years. Did someone say "moral hazard"?

In that context, there was some logic—if not wisdom—behind MF Global's trades of European debt. Corzine believed the European Central Bank, the European Financial Stability Fund, the IMF or some other multiletttered institution would step forward to make bondholders whole. But wanting to save the euro and finding a way to do it are two different things—and sometimes being clever is not the same as being smart.

Even if the trades were to eventually pay off, the risk assumed by MF Global's own account telegraphed a message to the firm's customers and lenders: "We're reckless." In the end, that was bad for its credit rating and very bad for business. Corzine bet his clients' capital on another bailout. It may still happen—even if it shouldn't—but it won't be soon enough for the faded star.

Sununu is a former Republican Senator from New Hampshire

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What Keeps Obama Up at Night

He's prevailed against al-Qaeda and Gaddafi, but China and Iran pose the next challenge

A YEAR OUT FROM ELECTION DAY, Barack Obama's strongest policy suit is the one that matters least to the public—foreign policy. He hasn't been perfect. His naive attempts to negotiate the Israel-Palestine question have been an embarrassing failure. But he has succeeded at the most important thing, fighting al-Qaeda. In the spring of 2011, he overruled his generals twice—and rightly so: he decided to have SEAL Team 6 go after Osama bin Laden and secure his document stash, rather than bombing the compound from the air; and he decided to begin drawing troops out of Afghanistan. His willingness to use drone strikes against terrorists in Pakistan, Yemen and Somalia has been a net success. He got rid of Muammar Gaddafi at a cost of \$1 billion and zero American lives.

But there are two foreign policy issues that could crash through the nonstop economic debate of the next year and cause Obama real trouble: Iran's militarism and China's mercantilism. These are exceedingly complicated problems, and the Obama Administration has redoubled its efforts in recent weeks to come up with more effective policies toward both.

Iran is the less significant but more dangerous challenge. Even the U.N.'s extremely cautious International Atomic Energy Agency now believes Iran is working on a nuclear weapon. There are those in the Administration who still hold out hope for successful negotiations with the Iranians, but Obama gave that a real shot in 2009 and came up empty. And there is a more immediate worry: the possibility of lethal, Iranian-backed mischief in Iraq as the last U.S. troops there come home in the next few months, which will leave the remaining U.S. diplomatic installations more exposed to rocket at-

tacks from Iraqi militias. "If an Iranian rocket hits the embassy in Baghdad or the consulate in Basra and there are American deaths, there are going to be calls for a military response," an Administration official told me. Indeed, there are specific plans to retaliate by bombing an Iranian rocket factory or, perhaps, Iranian Revolutionary Guards training camps near the Iraqi border. A regional expert told me that the Obama Administration is divided about this course of action, "but



there is a certain appeal to kicking the Iranians in the teeth as we exit Iraq, just to be sure they don't get the wrong idea about us leaving." But that sort of attack could lead to yet another war against a Muslim nation.

China, however, is the country most likely to have an impact on the presidential campaign. It is the country most often mentioned, with great concern, by Americans I've interviewed in my travels around the U.S. They assume—accurately—that China is cheating, stealing U.S. jobs and manipulating its currency to promote exports. Already, Mitt Romney is attacking Obama for not being tough enough on China's

economic aggression, and several White House sources have told me that the President is obsessed with finding an effective response. "You can't just slap tariffs on Chinese products, because of our membership in the World Trade Organization," an Administration official told me. "But we are looking very closely at the intellectual-property area." The Chinese routinely force American companies to give up their trade secrets in return for access to China's vast consumer market. U.S. companies hate this, complain about it constantly—but usually succumb, as General Electric did in its recent deal to sell jet engines to the Chinese. "If we could get a united front from the business sector, we might have some luck in building an international coalition to pressure the Chinese on this," a White House official told me. "But that's going to be very hard. Romney is doing the same thing Clinton did in 1992—whacking the Chinese on trade during the campaign. Of course, Clinton turned around as soon as he was elected."

There is one other potential problem for the President overseas—Israel. Romney recently slammed Obama for telling an essential truth in a private conversation with French President Nicolas Sarkozy: that Benjamin Netanyahu is very hard to work with. Romney has also claimed that Obama "has thrown Israel under the bus" for telling another truth: that the only path to a two-state solution is a return to the 1967 borders, with mutually agreed-upon land swaps. (Romney routinely leaves out the President's insistence on the land swaps, a craven distortion of Administration policy.)

Israel and Iran are eternal challenges for American Presidents. But fear that China is surging past us economically is the issue that could hurt Obama the most in 2012. It's the only foreign policy issue that points directly to our most serious domestic problems. ■

BERLUSCONI'S LAST ACT

The infamous Italian leader will exit the stage of the world's most dangerous economy

BY RANA FOROZHAR

IF THERE WERE BACKGROUND MUSIC for the drama unfolding in Europe right now, it would be Mozart's opera *Don Giovanni*. And Silvio Berlusconi, Italy's soon-to-be former Prime Minister, would play the lead role. During his 18 years in politics, Berlusconi—a onetime cruise-ship crooner whose political troubles have delayed the release of his album of love songs—has faced more than 50 no-confidence votes, dozens of allegations involving everything from tax evasion to Mafia ties to drugs and, of course, numerous sex scandals. His exploits on that score, from a relationship with an underage Moroccan belly dancer to the “bunga bunga” orgies with prostitutes held at his Milan

estate, constitute an aria of excess (much like “*Madamina, il catalogo è questo*,” the one Leporello sings in *Don Giovanni* citing his master's many conquests). Like Giovanni, Berlusconi is both comic and tragic and refuses to repent, even after wreaking havoc on the lives of everyone around him.

Those are program notes in Italy, where Don Berlusconi has promised to step down from his position as head of what has become the world's most dangerous economy. The European debt crisis, which has been building for months, has finally reached an apex, escaping the Aegean periphery—where European leaders hoped to pen it in—and engulfing the core of the continent, with potentially





terrifying ripple effects around the world.

That's a crucial fact that's been lost in all the coverage of the crisis, most of which has been devoted to Greece. While Europe can bail out Greece, it can't easily rescue a \$2 trillion economy like Italy's. The European stability fund isn't big enough, even if leveraged to increase its firepower. The International Monetary Fund can't save Italy either; the IMF was set up to help small emerging markets, not large European nations. And the European Central Bank, stymied by European fears of hyperinflation, can't play the role of lender of last resort, which is one of the many reasons that Italian borrowing costs have skyrocketed to euro-era record highs, pushing the country dangerously close to default.

If Italy goes under, would it be as big a crash as Lehman Brothers? "Bigger," says Mohamed El Erian, the CEO of Pimco, the world's largest bond trader, and a man not given to overstatement. "Italy is the world's third largest bond issuer, a founding member of the European project and a major player on the world stage. A default must at all costs be avoided if the global economy is to avoid a major disruption." In short, Italy is too big to fail. The problem is there's no Hank Paulson riding to the rescue.

It may be too late anyway. Berlusconi pledged to step down when the Italian Parliament passes a key budget bill that includes provisions for major reforms such as cutting back the country's civil service, dismantling a lopsided labor market that ensconces older workers in cushy state jobs while youth unemployment soars and boosting the retirement age. All of this is necessary—but may be too little, too late.

But trimming *la dolce vita* isn't easy. Those are exactly the kinds of measures that have been so painful and disruptive in Greece, where street protests against austerity rage on after Greek Prime Minister George Papandreou flip-flopped on a decision to hold a referendum on the terms of the latest European bailout package. Had the public voted against the package, Greece would have defaulted on its sovereign debt. Greece's new government will push the legislation through and get its next tranche of money. But the fiasco represented the crossing of an important line in Europe. Papandreou's intransigence forced leaders like French President Nicolas Sarkozy and German Chancellor Angela Merkel to talk publicly about the possibility of a country's leaving the euro zone.

The Real Rubicon

BUT THE TRUTH IS THAT THE WORLD WAS always going to be able to cope with a Greek default or even a Greek exit from the euro. The real Rubicon lies in Italy. And Italy's problems are of an entirely different scale.

Both Greece and Italy have corrupt and dysfunctional politics; both are addicted to tax evasion. (Italy's black market is probably a fifth of its \$2 trillion economy, second only to Greece's 25% of GDP.) But their differences are much more important. Greece's \$311 billion economy pales next to Italy's, the third largest in the euro zone. Greek stock markets are minuscule; Italy's biggest companies—multinationals such as Fiat and ENI—are very likely held by your pension fund or in your 401(k).

Most important, American banks either own or are exposed to a good chunk of Italian debt, which is why they have begun hedging against the risk of default. The Bank of Italy's latest Financial Stability Report, published this month, showed that American banks have started purchasing extra protection on Italian debt. The banks and other investors have also started severely tightening their lending to European banks and to companies with significant European exposure. MF Global, the trading house run by former Goldman Sachs CEO Jon Corzine, collapsed under the weight of its large, highly leveraged positions in European bonds. "The demise of MF Global has shown that the financial links between Europe and the U.S. are important," says Paul Dales, senior U.S. economist for Capital Economics. "They know they are not immune to the events in Europe."

It's telling that American financial institutions are more worried now about hedging European risk than they have been in the two years that Greece has been sliding toward default. It's ironic, because Italy's public finances aren't the worst in Europe. While Greece's debt-to-GDP ratio is about 160%, Italy's is 120%, which is just about manageable. By comparison, the U.S.'s is about 100%. The problem is that Italy's borrowing rates are going up by the day, meaning investors think default is becoming more likely. That's an almost self-fulfilling prophecy, since higher borrowing fees make the debt-servicing costs much worse, which in turn makes credit dry up, which increases the risk of default. Perhaps the scariest thing in that scenario is the par-



allel to the Lehman Brothers crash, in which a credit crunch also spiraled out of control.

The European Divide

ONE THING THAT COULD HELP CALM markets would be an orderly transition to a more competent government in Italy. Then again, Italy does not do orderly. Since the euro crisis reached a fever pitch this past summer, Berlusconi has been either fighting off scandals (including allegedly paying off a couple who claimed to have provided him with prostitutes) or trying to stave off reforms that would hurt his enormous Fininvest media empire (which has a monopolistic lock on Italian television). That hasn't inspired much market confidence.

While Berlusconi didn't cause Italy's problems, his inept leadership certainly made them worse. One of his government's many outrageous suggestions for improving the economy over the years has been to offer amnesty to Italians willing to repatri-



Greek drama A rioter in Athens during an October protest against Greece's austerity measures

ate illegally acquired assets. Perhaps more than any other single character, he represents the huge divide separating the actors trying to bridge the two halves of Europe—profligate southern countries like Greece and Italy, and nose-to-the-grindstone economic powerhouses like Germany and, by comparison with Italy, even France.

While Germans have spent a decade making the sorts of painful reforms that have turned them into the model for how to run a rich nation, Greece and Italy have used the privileged borrowing position they enjoy as members of the euro zone to avoid the hard work of cleaning up their economies. High taxes have scared away business, and mass tax evasion means that public coffers frequently go empty. Corruption, a bloated and inefficient state sector and the huge black-market econo-

my have discouraged business and kept private-sector unemployment high. As Standard & Poor's said earlier this fall when it downgraded Italy's credit, the country's debt problems could be fixed were it not for entrenched interests including politicians, incumbent monopolies, public-sector workers and unions, which "impede the government's ability to respond decisively to challenging economic conditions."

Casa di Cards

THE FALL OF BERLUSCONI AND THE RESHUFFLING of chairs in the Greek government underscore the nearly impossible task ahead for European leaders: balancing austerity and growth while also staying in office. Even in less dysfunctional nations like France and Germany, it's a tough act. Reforms of the kind so desperately needed in Europe right now tend to work best when countries are coming out of recession, not going into it. That's led most economists to conclude that Europe is headed for a double-dip recession. Re-

tail sales across the continent are plunging, and GDP growth, negligible this quarter, will probably contract by year end. Even Germany, the strongest nation in Europe, is hurting. Industrial production in Europe's export powerhouse is falling as its neighbors and major trading partners batten down the hatches.

Will Europe pull the U.S. into recession too? As ever, it all depends on the banks. The trade links between the U.S. and Europe alone won't have a decisive impact. The U.S. sends just 13% of its exports to the euro zone and much less to the economies in the most trouble. But if Italy defaults, it would likely set off another global financial crisis that could tank the world economy. More than three years after the failure of Lehman Brothers, we don't seem to have come very far.

That's one reason that flush emerging markets like China have been so reluctant to help bail out Europe. The West isn't just rife with debt; it also has a trust deficit. Banks on either side of the Atlantic still aren't working properly. The latest "comprehensive solution" to the European debt crisis presented in Brussels last month has turned out to be neither a comprehensive nor even a piecemeal solution. There is political gridlock on both sides of the Atlantic. Markets are as roiled as they've ever been. Earlier this month, European leaders arrived at the G-20 meeting hat in hand to ask rich developing nations to bail out the West. But they left with no firm commitments, and who could blame emerging-market nations for not wanting to invest? After all, the best analysis Don Berlusconi could offer of his country's economic prospects was "The restaurants are full."

And now the bill has arrived. In Italy, a new government may soon have the unlucky task of trying to reform the country's tax system and restructure its broken economy (though there's always a chance Berlusconi will try to stand for office again in the new year; don't count him out till the fat lady sings). But even if reforms began tomorrow, many economists say a lost decade of slow growth is a foregone conclusion. The likely outcome for Europe as a whole—a slow slide back into recession, the eventual breakup of the second largest global reserve currency and a continued loss of faith in the ability of Western leaders and Western solutions—isn't pretty. But they are befitting of opera, where so often the main characters don't make it to the end of the show. ■

NATION

THE OT



HER 1%

BY MARK THOMPSON

When Marine Sergeant Alex Lemons returned home in July 2008 after the last of his three combat tours, it was almost as if he had landed in a foreign country.

"I felt as alien here as I was in Iraq," the 32-year-old recalls of his return to his native Utah. At home, he says, it was impossible to tell we were a nation at war. He couldn't discuss it with pals "without sounding like a Martian," because they had no idea what the war in Iraq was like. The conversation would bog down, stall and then move on to other topics.

Lemons has moved on too, although his lingering PTSD and upcoming 14th operation on his feet, which were crushed during a fall in Najaf, are reminders of what separates him from most Americans. "The gap between the military and everybody else is getting worse because people don't know—and don't want to know—what you've been through," he says. "There are no bond drives. There are no tax hikes. There are no food drives or rubber drives... It's hard not to think of my war as a bizarre camping trip that no one else went on."

As the nation prepares to welcome home some 45,000 troops from Iraq, most Americans have little or nothing in common with their experiences or the lives of the 1.4 million men and women in uni-

form. The past decade of war by volunteer soldiers, sailors, airmen and Marines has acted like a centrifuge, separating the nation's military from its citizens. Most Americans have not served in uniform, no longer have a parent who did and are unlikely to encourage their children to enlist.

Never has the U.S. public been so separate, so removed, so isolated from the people it pays to protect it.

Every day, U.S. troops fight and work on all seven continents, but in most ways the nation has moved on to new challenges: the economy and a looming presidential campaign in which the wars bump along at the bottom of a list of public concerns topped by jobs, debt, taxes and health care. Over the past generation, the world's lone superpower has created—and grown accustomed to—a permanent military caste, increasingly disconnected from U.S. society, waging decade-long wars in its name, no longer representative of or drawn from the citizenry as a whole. Think of the U.S. military as the Other 1%—some 2.4 million troops have fought in and around Afghanistan and

Iraq since 9/11, exactly 1% of the 240 million Americans over 18. The U.S. Constitution calls on the people to provide for the common defense. But there is very little that is common about the way we defend ourselves in the 21st century.

The isolation will be plain to see as those U.S. troops in Iraq stream home before the year's end. Most will return not to 50 states but to two: North Carolina, home to the 82nd Airborne Division, and Texas, home to Killeen's Fort Hood and El Paso's Fort Bliss. There, many of them will live "on post," or in military-centric towns, where contact with the rest of us is rare. "As we continue to concentrate ourselves in fewer and fewer bases, as we become more secluded by way of a volunteer service, where fewer and fewer Americans have either served or know someone who's served," says Army Secretary John McHugh, "there is a sense of alienation that I don't think is positive."

Thanking our troops for their service has become almost reflexive in the U.S., in part because of memories of Vietnam. Uniformed soldiers striding through airports

are offered outstretched hands and words of gratitude; their tabs for sandwiches or beers are often picked up by strangers before the GIs have asked for the bill. But the sentiment reflects the problem: the public has scant idea of just how much the military has given since 9/11 beyond a vague sense that some 6,300 have died.

"We love the troops, and you know why we love the troops?" asks Jack Jacobs, a retired Army colonel. "Because we don't have to be the troops." He recalls growing up in New York City in the years after World War II. "Everybody in my neighborhood had someone who was in uniform," says Jacobs, who won the Medal of Honor in Vietnam. "But today, you'd have to knock on something like 150 doors in most neighborhoods before you find a household where someone is serving."

Rebecca Townsend, an Army National Guard spouse who counsels troubled military families outside Fort Campbell, Ky., sees "lots of evidence of this huge disconnect" between troops and everyone else. She was floored when professional acquaintances praised President Obama's recent decision to bring the troops home from Iraq. "They said it was awesome that there would be no more war," she recalls. "It was very disheartening to learn that they had no idea we are still fighting in Afghanistan."

HOW DID WE GET HERE?

BEING AN ARMY APART ISN'T A PROBLEM FOR the Pentagon; it has become part of the sales pitch. The U.S. military boasts of the ways in which it is better than society as a whole. And by many measures, it is right. If you remove those who are unlikely to serve because they are too fat or too criminal or are in college, only 15% of Americans ages 17 to 24 are eligible to sign up. "Today's military is more educated and has a higher aptitude than the general population," a Pentagon recruiting report notes. "Its ranks are filled with extraordinarily well-qualified and committed professionals." Soldiers and sailors are more highly paid, more likely to be married and more conservative politically than the nation as a whole. "From the first day of training you're constantly reminded that you signed on the dotted line because you want to be better," Army vet Matt Gallagher, who served in Iraq, says. "A lot of guys feel they're part of a warrior caste, separate and distinct from society."

Consider the numbers: the Army, which accounts for 40% of the nation's active-duty force, has moved largely to the Sun Belt over the past generation. It is now concentrated in Georgia, Kentucky, North Carolina,

Texas and Washington State. The degree of isolation doesn't lessen much when you add the Navy and Air Force: thanks mostly to consolidations arising from base closings, 10 states are home to 70% of all Americans in uniform. The U.S. military has abandoned New England and the Midwest; more active-duty troops—some 13,000—are stationed in tiny Washington, D.C., than in Connecticut, Indiana, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Michigan, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania or Wisconsin. Recruiters have followed suit: Alabama has 10 Army Reserve Office Training Corps programs serving a state with fewer than 5 million people. Greater Los Angeles, with 12 million people, has only four. The Chicago region—population 9 million—has three.

"Propensity to serve is most pronounced in the South and the Mountain West and in rural areas and small towns nationwide," observed former Defense Secretary Robert Gates last month. "The percentage of the force from the Northeast, the West Coast and major cities continues to decline." Partly as a result, the job of putting on the uniform has become an almost tribal one: a growing share of active-duty troops has a sibling or had a parent in uniform; close to 100,000 troops are married to another service member. The number of cadets at the U.S. Military Academy who have a parent who also attended West Point has grown by 50% in the past generation. "It's a family business, and it's a very tough time to be in the family business," says Dave Barno, a retired Army lieutenant general who commanded all allied troops in Afghanistan in 2003–04 and has two sons in the Army. "As my kids deploy around the world, they're running into their playmates from when they were growing up, at Fort Leavenworth and Fort Lewis, in Kandahar and Jalalabad," he says. "Their classmates as kids on military bases are the people they're fighting with."

The separation is enforced by a Garrison culture that goes back generations but has deepened in recent years as a result of the nation's decision to close unneeded military posts and pay service members more. Many troops and their families live on such megabases and have no need to leave: they shop at on-base commissaries, have their babies at on-base hospitals and send their kids to on-base schools. They're younger and fitter than the nation's civilian population as a whole and are largely immune to the economic insecurities plaguing so many other Americans. Barno calls military life on post a "golden cocoon" that insulates troops from the rest of us. "There's a different flavor when you're



living outside the gates," he says. Out there, "when you go to church, everyone isn't 25 to 35 with short haircuts, with big biceps—you see people who are infirm or aged, facing other challenges in their lives, and so you get a different sense of life."

Even the sensitive matter of pay and benefits separates the troops from the rest of the nation. Though many Americans may assume the military is underpaid, the numbers tell a different story. Since 9/11, compensation has increased dramatically for those in uniform, with Congress heaping pay raises atop even those requested by Pentagon leaders year after year. Military compensation per service member has jumped from \$56,738 in 1998 to \$85,581 last year. It's a raise—on top of inflation—of 20%. Other benefits have jumped even higher: housing allowances (up 188%), bonuses (up 56%), retirement funding (up 24%). "You don't want a military that feels alienated, separated and martyred," says military historian Richard Kohn of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. "That's one reason pay and benefits have been rising so dramatically."



'THERE ARE NO BOND DRIVES. THERE ARE NO FOOD DRIVES OR RUBBER DRIVES. IT'S HARD NOT TO THINK OF MY WAR AS A BIZARRE CAMPING TRIP THAT NO ONE ELSE WENT ON.'

—ALEX LEMONS, IRAQ-WAR VETERAN

Marching orders New U.S. Army recruits line up for buses that will take them to their barracks for 10 weeks of basic training at Fort Jackson, S.C.

A MORE DANGEROUS DIVIDE

ON CLOSE INSPECTION, IT IS CLEAR THAT WE'RE not only outsourcing our security to a smaller group of citizens; we're outsourcing some of it to noncitizens. Since 9/11, 70,000 foreigners have won American citizenship by joining the U.S. military; right now, about 16,000 noncitizens are on active duty, hoping it will earn them citizenship. U.S. officials expect that 9,000 more—roughly two Army brigades' worth—will sign up each year. The outsourcing of our common defense is even more pronounced when you calculate that for every soldier in Afghanistan, there is roughly one private contractor, working at taxpayer expense, providing meals and doing other chores.

Gates raised the issue of a military-civilian divide in a speech at Duke University last year and returned to it last month at West Point. On his final Afghan tour as Defense Secretary in June, Gates said a sergeant reported that "he and others had signed up because the military—in his case, the Marines—had a set of standards and values that is better than that of the civilian sector." Gates then noted that an

Army exhibit displayed along a Pentagon corridor declares that the service embraces values—loyalty, respect and honor among them—that "distinguish American Soldiers from American society." Gates told the West Point cadets that "it is rather peculiar to suggest that attributes such as integrity, respect and courage are not valued in the United States of America writ large.... It is off-putting to hear, albeit anecdotally, comments that suggest that [the] military is to some degree separate and even superior from the society, the country, it is sworn to protect.... There is a risk over time of developing a cadre of military leaders that politically, culturally and geographically have less and less in common with the majority of the people they have sworn to defend," Gates said. "Getting this relationship on a sound footing is so important because a civil military divide can expose itself in an ugly way, especially during a protracted and frustrating war effort."

In his speeches, Gates did not mention a related fact of military life: the force is more conservative than the nation as

a whole. A Pew survey of 712 post-9/11 veterans revealed last month that the political leanings of people in uniform are nearly the mirror opposite of the public they serve. The survey found that 36% of veterans describe themselves as Republicans, while 21% say they are Democrats. In the public at large, those numbers are nearly reversed: 34% of the public identifies as Democratic, while 23% identifies as Republican. The curve bends more to the right as rank increases: a 2009 survey by Heidi Urben, an active-duty officer and graduate student at Georgetown University, found that 60% of 4,000 Army officers self-identified as Republicans, whereas only 18% said they were Democrats.

On the one hand, this shift has been under way for years. From 1976 to 1996, the share of senior military officers identifying as Republican jumped from one-third to two-thirds, while the share claiming to be independent fell from 46% to 22%. Senior military officers who described themselves as liberal fell from 16% in 1976 to 3% in 1996. Urben's survey found that younger officers leaving the Army were far more

likely to identify themselves as Democrats than those opting to stay. All this takes the nation onto perilous ground, not because the military tilts Republican or Democrat but because it needs to be seen as straight-shooting and nonpartisan. That perception has been fading. When Obama weighed sending reinforcements to Afghanistan in 2009, senior military officials painted him into a corner with leaks—and premature public pronouncements—arguing that significantly more troops than some in the White House favored were needed to get the job done. The maneuver worked: Obama wound up agreeing to send 30,000 troops—but only if they began coming home 18 months later. In order to hold the military to this deal, his aides then leaked details of a behind-the-scenes conversation in which the generals could be heard agreeing to Obama's 18-month timetable. It was not the finest hour for civilian control of the military.

But the generals had the last word. When Obama announced the beginning of the Afghanistan pullout in June, White House aides told reporters that the announced pace of the withdrawal had been among the options presented to the President by his generals. But within the week, the top U.S. commander in Afghanistan testified in public that Obama's pullout schedule "is a more aggressive option than that which was presented" by the military to the White House. When Senator Lindsey Graham asked Marine General John Allen if Obama's final decision was presented in any form by the Pentagon, the four-star general replied, "It was not."

The Afghanistan episode reveals how frayed trust between the civilian and military worlds has become. Instead of arguing its position quietly behind closed doors, the Pentagon executed a pincer movement on the White House to get its way on the size of the Afghan surge. And when the pullout announcement neared, the White House confected the illusion of a Pentagon blessing on the timetable where none existed. "There will be more cases like this because the relationship is getting rockier with the major domestic and international challenges we face," says Michael Desch, a political scientist and military scholar at Notre Dame. "That's troubling in a democracy."

And then there are the individual costs of an army apart. A pair of Air Force researchers suggests the divide may be behind the suicide epidemic now plaguing the U.S. military. The burdens placed on a tiny slice of Americans during long and increasingly unpopular wars "have con-

sequences that may include the creation of a constellation of social, cultural, and political conditions which conspire to elevate the rate of suicide in the Army and Marine Corps," write George Mastroianni and Wilbur Scott, behavioral experts at the Air Force Academy. "The public seemingly has little patience for anyone wishing to disturb the comfortable arrangement that now exists between society and the military, an arrangement facilitated by the lack of honest, thoughtful, and open dialogue," they say in the latest issue of *Parameters*, the Army's professional journal.

RESTORING THE COMMON DEFENSE

OF COURSE, SOME OF THE GAP BETWEEN THE military and its patrons would evaporate if different kinds of people joined up. "The all-volunteer force," says retired Army major general Dennis Laich, "is a mercenary military made up of poor kids and patriots from the third and fourth socioeconomic quintiles of our country. The first socioeconomic quintile is AWOL, but that's

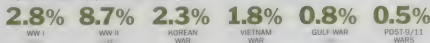
where the real decisionmakers and policy-makers of the country come from." Military scholars like Eliot Cohen of the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies agree with Laich that it would be good for the nation if more graduates of elite colleges signed up for military service. But Cohen adds that it might not be good for the military. "They're not necessarily the kind of people who fit very easily into the cultures of the services," Cohen says. "They're outliers, more headstrong, and they may be more likely to be skeptical."

The problem is even more noticeable on Capitol Hill, where the share of veterans among lawmakers has fallen from 77% in the late 1970s to 22% now. The dramatic lack of knowledge and experience among the Pentagon's overseers means the military gets more and more of what it wants. Representative Howard "Buck" McKeon, the California Republican who heads the House Armed Services Committee, never served in uniform—an unthinkable arrangement just a few decades ago. McKeon

The Few, the Proud The military community has been drifting away from mainstream American society

A smaller slice

Proportion of total U.S. population in the armed forces



Unequal representation

MORE THAN A THIRD OF LAST YEAR'S 156,000 ENLISTEES CAME FROM FIVE STATES



Half of the 1.2 million active-duty personnel in the U.S. are stationed in five states: California, Virginia, Texas, North Carolina and Georgia

All in the family

6.7%
PERCENTAGE OF SERVICE MEMBERS MARRIED TO ANOTHER SERVICE MEMBER

Unfit youth

MOST POTENTIAL RECRUITS ARE UNAVAILABLE BECAUSE OF COLLEGE, HEALTH, CRIMINAL RECORD OR OTHER REASONS



was stumped in September when asked in public if the military's "tooth-to-tail" ratio—the share of trigger pullers as part of the entire force—had budged from its historic 10% level. "What is tooth to tail?" the chairman responded. "Congress cuts the military slack because of their lack of experience," UNC's Kohn says. "They don't have a sense of the institutions and the culture, so they're less likely to exercise insightful or determined oversight."

And in the press? Experience there is virtually unheard of, even after a decade of war. That ticks off military families—and serves to deepen their isolation from the culture. Ann Burger, whose Army-officer husband Joseph is on his second Afghan tour, relies on his e-mails for news of what's happening in Kabul. The Taliban "blew up a bus last week and killed 17 people, and I didn't know anything about it because it wasn't on the news," she says from her home outside Fort Lewis, Wash. She blames the media for moving on and notes that military families still hunger for battlefield coverage.

"It makes me think that nobody cares," she says. "They're putting on things like the Kardashians getting divorced—it's on the news constantly—but we have soldiers over there dying, and you don't hear about it."

All these examples get to the heart of the matter: the real danger is that a military's strength ebbs the further away it gets from the society that sponsors and nurtures it. As fewer of its leaders have military experience, the U.S. is taking a very real risk that the people ordering the military around have less and less idea about how to use it wisely. Navy Captain Don Inbody was at 5th Fleet headquarters in Bahrain in January 2002, when he says the staff there got a look at the plans to invade Iraq. "There was a whole bunch of senior officers in the room, and we kind of looked at it, and my distinct recollection is a uniform sucking in of air." Inbody, now a political science professor at Texas State University, says there was no post-war planning evident. "We were thinking, If you want us to beat the Iraqi army, we

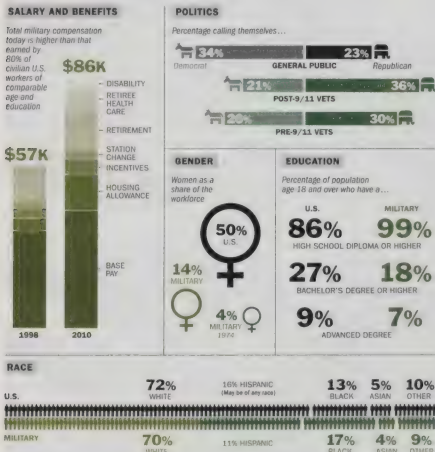
can do that with one hand tied behind our back. But there was nothing after that," he remembers. "It signaled to me that U.S. political elites didn't view the military so much as part of the greater American society as their own private army."

Under the Constitution, only Congress can declare war. But the U.S. has put troops in harm's way hundreds of times since 1941, the last time Congress approved such a resolution. And the rest of us—so long as our kin aren't imperiled—have gone along. "There is a sense that popular influence over how the military gets used has waned significantly," says Andrew Bacevich, a retired Army colonel now teaching history at Boston University (and who lost his only son, Andrew Bacevich Jr., in 2007 in Iraq). "In a sense, the military has become Washington's military and not the nation's military... If Americans felt a greater sense of ownership for the military," he adds, "then maybe Washington wouldn't get away with starting unnecessary wars and then waging them incompetently."

Would a return to the draft help? It certainly would bind the American public more closely to its troops and would perhaps induce a deeper sense of service in more of its citizens. It would surely reduce the number of military conflicts and shorten those the nation elected to fight. But it would also create a less capable, less well trained, less professional force; the nation would be less confident in its ability to project power overseas and protect its interests once forces arrived. In any case, the public and military hate the idea. In last month's Pew poll, 68% of veterans and 74% of the public opposed its return. "The nation is better served by an all-volunteer force," Army General Martin Dempsey (whose three children have served in the Army) said at his July confirmation hearing to serve as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. He wants "to find ways to preserve it in an era of fiscal constraint rather than move at this point to a draft." But he added that "we need other options for the nation when we enter into conflict that can escalate and that can take longer than we thought."

Can the nation reconnect to its military? Alex Lemons, who will soon be attending graduate school at Reed College in Portland, Ore., hopes so. The onetime scout sniper believes the gap between the guardians and the guarded is itself a threat to our national security. "The military is ultimately a reflection of our culture—or what we would like to believe about our culture," he says. "But when the burden of fighting wars involves only 1% of our citizens and their families, it's not good for them—or the country." ■

The military-civilian divide



Sources: Department of Defense, Pew Research Center, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Congressional Research Service, The Tenth Quadrennial Review of Military Compensation



We Are Born With Hearts Of Gold
As We Grow Old The Heart Gets Cold



THE ART OF WAR

To cope with the jarring transition back to civilian life, veterans seek out tattoos that honor buddies, reinforce unit mottoes and reflect experiences they prefer not to talk about

Photographs by **PETER HAPAK** for **TIME**

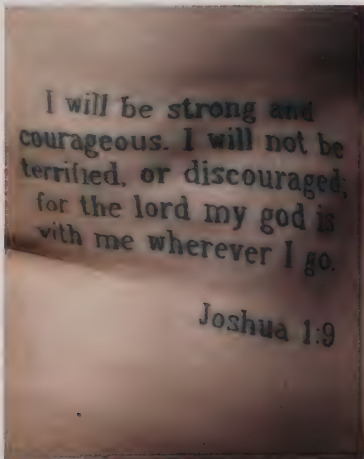
By Mark Benjamin

VETERANS WILL TELL you that one of the most jarring experiences of their service is the sudden immersion back into a society that seems unaware that there are any wars being waged. While they fought, their country went about its business—so they must find their own ways to memorialize their experiences. A common ritual is getting the commemorative tattoo. Troops honor fallen buddies, extol their units, engrave themselves with war mottoes and religious prose or dream up art that reflects experiences they might not talk about.

Since 1992, Capitol Tattoo has been inking the bodies of returning service members in a

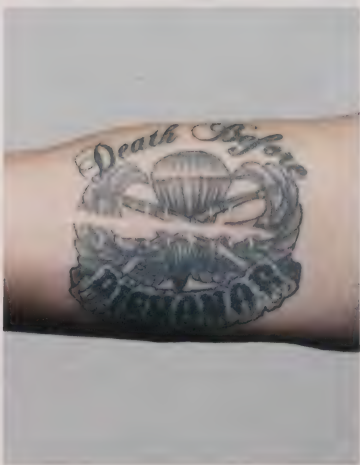
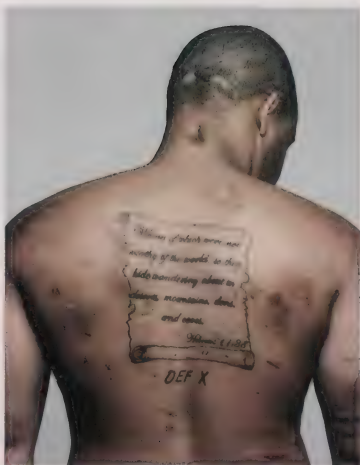
storefront on Georgia Avenue in Silver Spring, Md., just north of Walter Reed Army Medical Center, the massive military hospital that is in the process of closing. "They are our family," owner Al Herman says of the troops who show up for artwork—or just to hang out.

On one day this summer, Herman opened his door to photographer Peter Hapak. The veteran clients rolled up their sleeves, stripped off their shirts and revealed their scars, hoping the images would help bridge the gap in understanding. ■



THESE PAGES Top row, from left: Army Specialist Anthony Morales; Marine Corporal Ben McCrosky, inked with a traditional memorial to a fallen comrade; Army Sergeant Rudy McGoy, with a Bible verse, sent by his grandmother when he was in Afghanistan, tattooed around his shrapnel scars. Bottom row: a closeup of the Scripture Morales chose; Army Specialist Devon Pitz's tattoo, punctured by shrapnel, honoring his father; Pitz wearing the motto of the 101st Airborne

PREVIOUS PAGES From left: Army Private First Class Zachariah Fleury and Army Corporal Paul Bell, who did a tour as a medic in Iraq and says his tattoo shows his version of hell



The Return of the Rabble Rouser

Under fire, Van Jones resigned from the Obama Administration. But he's found a new cause: rallying liberal groups on behalf of the Occupy protesters

BY MICHAEL SCHERER

ON OCT. 3, TWO WEEKS AFTER the first Occupy Wall Street squatter settled on a marble bench in Zuccotti Park, most of the nation's liberal kingpins gathered 200 miles away in Washington to voice their solidarity. "Let the word go forth," called a speaker on the ballroom stage at the Washington Hilton. "They got unity on Wall Street. They got unity in 50-some cities. And we've got unity in this room."

It was a remarkable gamble: hundreds of student, environmental, labor, feminist, immigrant and minority-rights leaders pledging support for a cause they neither foresaw nor controlled. Even more remarkable was the man speaking that day: Van Jones, a Tennessee-born activist who just two years earlier had resigned his post overseeing green-jobs programs in the Obama Administration amid a growing scandal over his radical past. Jones is now back in the spotlight, leading the fight to get progressive groups to support the Occupy Wall Street protests.

Alternating between rabble rouser and PowerPoint-wielding professor, he laid out his theory of how the left had gone wrong

by ceding the national conversation to the Tea Party and why the Occupy protests could help bring it back on track. "They went down there to the scene of the crime against our future," he said, his thunderous tone somewhat at odds with his red power tie and rimless glasses. "They went down there, and they have been camping in the rain. They have been pepper-sprayed, they have been falsely arrested, and they never once broke discipline." The crowd of national activists howled its approval. "There isn't another leader who can pull people like that together," says Robert Borosage, a director of the Campaign for America's Future, which agreed

to rebrand its annual conference at Jones' suggestion as a meeting of the American Dream Movement.

Jones' remarks that day were in many ways the start of a full-scale embrace of Occupy by the liberal establishment. The protests have remained a diffuse operation, directed only by local activists who meet in city squares across the country. The protesters didn't solicit outside leadership, and for weeks Democratic politicians, from President Obama on down, didn't quite know whether or how to get on board. But with Jones' participation, the protesters are now supported by a coalition of more than 70 liberal organizations—including MoveOn.org, several large labor unions and Planned Parenthood—that provide resources and a more coordinated message. Tarps and zero-degree sleeping bags have flooded into squares through a website set up by Jones' partners. Thousands of the groups' members have turned up for marches, and 350,000 signed a petition to Mayor Michael Bloomberg after he threatened to evict the protesters from lower Manhattan so the park could be cleaned. When Occupy protesters pushed for a boycott of bailed-out

'We don't want leader-centric movements. We want leader-full movements.'

—VAN JONES



megabanks, Jones started a Move Your Money website, gathering 70,000 pledges from people across the country to transfer their funds to local community banks or credit unions.

Jones likens the Occupy campers to the four black students who staged the sit-ins at a whites-only Woolworth's lunch counter in Greensboro, N.C., in February 1960, the tip of a much bigger iceberg. Those students didn't change the country alone, Jones points out, but they were quickly followed by lawyers and church organizers and later by Congressmen who pushed the Civil Rights Act of 1964. That's the space Jones is now trying to fill: the army behind the first wave. "You don't get young people like this every day," he says.

Back to His Grassroots

IT'S HARD TWO YEARS ON TO RECALL JUST how toxic Jones became in the late summer of 2009. He worked for the White House to implement the Recovery Act as a midlevel staffer, without a West Wing office or personal access to the President. But he had arrived at his government job by way of San Francisco street activism, having for a time embraced the Marxist label when he worked as an organizer against police brutality, and that label stuck. At town-hall meetings across the country, Tea Party types denounced Jones as an avowed communist and Marxist. He became a regular talking point for conservative pundits on Fox News. "What are we doing with communists in the White House?" one outraged voter shouted at Representative Chet Edwards, a Texas Democrat, at a town hall that August. "He has the ear of the President!" Edwards, like many other people in Washington at the time, had never heard of Jones. A year later, the Congressman lost his race for reelection by 25 points.

Born Anthony Jones in Jackson, Tenn., to middle-class schoolteachers, Jones has always been provocative: as a student at Yale Law School, he was known to walk to class wearing combat boots and carrying a Black Panther book bag—almost a quaint relic by the early 1990s. "I am a very candid guy with a very colorful past," he says. In the years that followed, he moderated his approach and the issues he focused on. His 2008 book, *The Green Collar Economy*, earned praise from the Democratic establishment for laying out a vision of environmental change that would lead to new jobs in the inner city



insulating homes and installing solar panels. It was hardly the stuff of *Les Misérables*, but Jones always had his cheerleaders. "Van Jones has made it his life's work to speak truth to power," House minority leader Nancy Pelosi says.

But even as Jones traded in his bullhorn for a briefcase, he continued to be attacked for his past. In 2009 a video surfaced showing his use of an unprintable word to de-

scribe Republicans, and his name was found on a 2004 Web page he says he never read or endorsed implicating the Bush Administration in the Sept. 11 attacks.

And so in September 2009, Jones resigned from the Obama Administration. "It was the best six months of my life followed by the worst two weeks," Jones recalls. He disappeared from public life and spent his time trying to figure out how an organic wave of conservative populism had so suddenly disrupted his career and thwarted Obama's agenda. He took a part-time teaching job at Princeton and gave himself what he called "a Ph.D. on the Tea Party." "I started thinking, How the heck did we go from hope to heartbreak so fast?" says Jones, for whom conversation is often an opportunity to audition catchphrases. "We went from having a movement to a movie."

It did not take him long to reach some conclusions, which he packaged in a

Jones began to adopt the language of the protesters, denouncing 'banksters' as some of the 'worst people in the world'



Exile no more Former Obama adviser Van Jones speaks to regulars at Occupy Los Angeles near the steps of city hall

said. "We want leader-full movements." Deepak Bhargava, the executive director of one of the left's most active Washington institutions, the Center for Community Change, says Jones' PowerPoint presentation reminded the liberal establishment that it wasn't tied to Obama's struggles. "We were all incredibly taken with the analysis," he said.

In short order, nearly every national progressive group in the U.S. signed on to Jones' effort, pledging to form what the groups called the American Dream Movement. They organized small "Jobs Not Cuts" protests this summer and fall and held hundreds of house parties to draft a broad agenda calling for higher taxes on the wealthy, more government spending to help the unemployed and greater regulation of Wall Street. Jones says he has modeled his movement in part on the organic Tea Party groundswell of 2009, and he steered clear of his old White House contacts as he developed it.

Then something happened that Jones never expected: some young people decided to pitch tents in lower Manhattan. Occupy Wall Street was born.

Will the Movement Behave?

THE DECISION BY LIBERAL GROUPS TO embrace Occupy was not a foregone conclusion. In the protest's first weeks, much of the establishment left stayed on the sidelines, unsure what to make of the activists camping out beneath skyscrapers. "It was a big question," Jones says. "Will these kids even be there tomorrow? Are these kids going to get violent?"

But Jones pressed the case for championing the new effort. He began to adopt the clear-cut class language of the Occupy protesters, denouncing the "banksters," whom he described as "some of the worst people in the world." He wrote an essay in the Huffington Post addressed to his fellow liberal leaders, titled "Wall Street Protests: Which Side Are You On?" and appeared on HBO's *Real Time with Bill Maher* to declare how proud he was of the new generation in the streets. "You talk about the Arab Spring," Jones said. "We could be on the verge of an American Autumn."

An immediate challenge is to prevent

the Occupy movement from turning violent or falling under the sway of law-breaking anarchists. In mid-November, the American Dream network will host more than 200 teach-ins across the country focusing on the demands of Occupy, the issue of income inequality and the importance of nonviolence to retain credibility. "Those of us who are committed to nonviolent change have to get very clear and very loud," Jones says.

Had the Occupy movement started two decades earlier, there is little doubt that Jones would be camping out there in the rain. But he is 43, with two young children, living in Los Angeles, though more often than not traveling the country. He hopes to be able to guide the dialogue begun by Occupy into legislation and electoral results in 2012. His coalition plans to select a slate of candidates, "from dogcatcher to Congress," across the U.S. and train thousands of volunteers as local organizers.

On Nov. 17, Occupy Wall Street and the American Dream Movement are planning a major day of protest. It will mark the second full month of the encampment in lower Manhattan and, Jones hopes, send a clear message to the congressional supercommittee in Washington that the grass-roots energy in the country has shifted to the left since the midterm elections. Jones is sure to become a target of the right again now that he has re-established himself near the front lines.

In recent weeks, he has traveled to Occupy general assemblies in Boston, Los Angeles, San Francisco and Manhattan, speaking at each of them. There he has found a new generation of activists with new customs—like the "human microphone" practice of collectively repeating the words of each speaker—that he never used when he was a street activist. Few in these crowds would identify him as their leader or even be able to identify him at all, but Jones says he sees them all as potential leaders.

"This is new for me," he called out one night at a general assembly in Zuccotti Park before hundreds of protesters. ("This is new for me," the mass responded.) "I am used to having a real mike," he said. ("I am used to having a real mike.")

Someone in the crowd shouted an objection—"This is a real mike!"—and Jones flashed his broad smile, a glowing, ear-to-ear brightening of a man recently returned from exile. "Exactly," he said. ■

70-slide PowerPoint presentation that he began showing to the leaders of just about every progressive institution on both coasts. Modern social change, he argued, was driven from the ground up through "meta-branded" movements organized online through social media. The key, he said, was to construct an identity that people from different groups could join without abandoning their own priorities. In the 2008 campaign, the only brand liberals rallied around was Barack Obama. But his election gave liberals the wrong theory of the presidency, Jones came to believe. "Lyndon Johnson wasn't out there leading the civil rights movement," he says. "Abraham Lincoln was not an abolitionist." If liberals wanted change, in other words, they would need a grass-roots movement of their own. It would have to be organized around a set of ideals, not any particular person. "We don't want leader-centric movements," Jones

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BUSINESS SUSTAINABILITY INC.

The War On Coal

Activists cite public-health hazards in a new campaign against coal. Opponents say cleaner is too costly

BY BRYAN WALSH/CHICAGO



DOUG FARRAR/REUTERS/GETTY IMAGES



Bad-neighbor policy Chicago's asthma-hospitalization rate is nearly double the national average

On a 99°F July Sunday, there's no cooler place to be in Chicago's Pilsen neighborhood than the public pool in Dvorak Park, where you can catch a fleetingly cool breeze in this working-class, heavily Latino community. Unfortunately, the air in Pilsen isn't very cool—and it isn't very clean. Chicago's air on July 17 was so polluted that the government recommended that children and people with respiratory ailments—too common in a city that has nearly double the national asthma-hospitalization rate—limit their time outdoors. "People are getting sick in Chicago because of the air," says Brian Urbaszewski, director of environmental-health programs at the Respiratory Health Association of Metropolitan Chicago. "And it's people who are living in neighborhoods like Pilsen that are getting the worst of it."

That's due in part to the 450-ft. brick smokestack that looms over Dvorak Park—the one the kids call "the cloudmaker." It belongs to the Fisk Generating Station, a 326-MW station just a couple of blocks from the park that's one of the oldest coal-fired power plants in the country. Its corporate owner, Midwest Generation, says it has reduced pollution from the plant in recent years and that closing the facility would cost jobs, but Fisk is still viewed by environmentalists and activists in the city as a major health hazard.

A 2010 report by the Clean Air Task Force (CATF), an NGO that focuses on air pollution, estimated that toxic emissions from the Fisk plant alone are responsible for 15 premature deaths a year and 200 hospitalizations. That's partly a result of Fisk's age—a grandfather clause in the Clean Air Act exempts older power plants in the U.S. from meeting some tougher regulations—but it also has to do with the fact that more people live within a mile of Fisk than any other coal plant in the country. Schools and playgrounds sit within sight of the

smokestack. "You can feel it in your lungs when you live here," says Leila Mendez, a longtime Pilsen resident. "My hope is that it will just be closed."

If that happens, Fisk won't be the first old coal plant to shut down because of pollution concerns—or the last. The powerful coal industry—which provides nearly half the electricity used by Americans, along with 30% of U.S. carbon emissions and a smoggy chunk of the nation's air pollution—is being attacked by an insurgency of environmentalists, regulators and health advocates. In the wake of failed carbon cap-and-trade legislation last year and fizzling international climate talks, environmentalists concerned about global warming are taking on the coal industry from a different angle: public health. The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) is working on a series of long-delayed regulations under the Clean Air Act that, if pursued aggressively, could make life very difficult for Big Coal. And this summer Michael Bloomberg announced a \$50 million gift to the Sierra Club's \$150 million Beyond Coal campaign through his charitable foundation, marking coal pollution as the target of the New York City mayor's latest crusade. Bloomberg

wants to turn coal into the new tobacco, to make it politically and culturally unacceptable because of the damage it does to everyone's health. "This is a public-health issue, just like our efforts to stop smoking or help with malaria," Bloomberg told TIME. "The pollutants and toxins are a big problem."

The campaign comes at a time when the world is becoming more coal-intensive. Global coal consumption grew by 7.6% last year; 30% of the world's energy now comes from coal, up from 25% five years ago. The rise is driven by emerging economies like China, the world's biggest coal consumer, which nearly tripled its coal use over the past decade. That hasn't helped coal-fighting efforts in the West, where stalling economies are struggling to keep up with gang-buster growth in China and other emerging markets. Coal exports from the U.S., the world's second largest coal producer and consumer, to Asian countries more than tripled last year, a boon for the industry. U.S. dependency on coal-fired electricity continues at home, which could result in higher energy costs and job losses if air-quality regulations are tightened. King Coal—still the cheapest source of electricity—is entrenched in the global energy system.

The Sierra Club, one of the country's oldest and largest green groups, with 1.4 million members, has already found early success fighting the growth of coal on a shoestring budget. So far, the club says, its Beyond Coal campaign has helped block more than 150 proposed coal plants across the country, using legal action and local opinion. With Bloomberg's help, it's

'This is a public-health issue, just like our efforts to stop smoking or help with malaria.'

—MICHAEL BLOOMBERG, MAYOR OF NEW YORK CITY



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stepping up the battle, seeking to shut existing coal plants like Fisk in Chicago.

The industry is also facing challenges from Washington. In July the EPA issued final rules on air pollution that crosses state borders, forcing power plants to reduce emissions of sulfur dioxide and nitrogen oxide—two pollutants linked to smog and health problems—over the next few years. In the coming months, the EPA is scheduled to finalize regulations on mercury emissions, coal ash and greenhouse-gas emissions. Those regulations will provide tangible benefits for air quality and health; the new cross-state-border rule alone will prevent an estimated 34,000 premature deaths a year, according to the EPA. “No community should bear the burden of another community’s polluters or be powerless to act against air pollution that leads to asthma, heart attacks and other harmful illnesses,” says EPA Administrator Lisa Jackson.

Pick Your Poison

“IS THERE A WAR ON COAL?” ASKS AMERICAN Electric Power (AEP) CEO Michael Morris. “I think that’s fair to say,” Morris’ opinion matters. AEP is one of the largest and most coal-dependent utilities in the country, and the company has not suffered the coming EPA regulations quietly. In June, AEP announced that it would shut

‘No community should bear the burden of another community’s polluters or be powerless to act.’

—LISA JACKSON, HEAD OF THE EPA

down five older coal-fired plants by the end of 2014—the plants collectively generate 6,000 MW of electricity—in part because it would be too expensive to upgrade them to meet the new EPA rules. Though a few of those plants had already been scheduled to be decommissioned, Morris says the rapid pace of the rules—utilities will have only three years to meet the tighter emissions standard on cross-border pollution—will cost the company billions of dollars and hundreds of jobs.

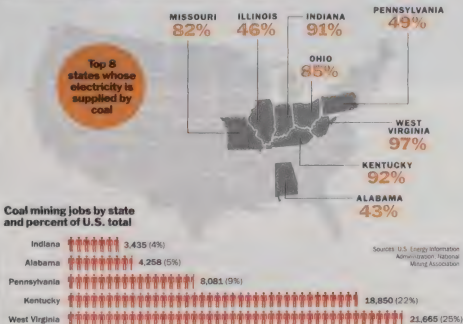
In other words, pick your poison: more coughs or more costs. “These new regulations will be like a ball and chain wrapped around American families and businesses as they try to crawl out of the Great Recession,” says Steve Miller, head of the American Coalition for Clean Coal Electricity, an industry trade group. “There will be a major impact on electricity rates and jobless rates.”

According to a study released in June by the National Economic Research Associates, an economics consulting firm, the EPA’s cross-border-pollution rule and

its proposed mercury and toxics regulations will cost industry \$18 billion a year, create job losses and increase the average American electricity bill by 11.5% by 2020. While those numbers are much higher than the EPA’s estimates—and it’s worth noting that the study was commissioned by the coal sector—any regulations that seriously take on coal power in the U.S. will have at least a short-term economic cost. And that cost will be especially heavy in places like Kentucky, where coal provides more than 90% of the state’s electricity and some 18,000 mining jobs. Issue rules that raise the cost of coal power and Midwestern utility executives start muttering darkly about power outages, while Republicans and Democrats alike in coal states get angry. “Coal not only built this country, but it built the skyscrapers of New York City,” Democratic Senator Joe Manchin of West Virginia said in response to Bloomberg’s pledge. “Without coal, the lights of that city would be dark and its economy would be devastated.”

In reality, the rapid pace of regulations is due less to a vendetta on the part of the White House than to the failure of former President George W. Bush’s EPA to address air quality, leaving a backlog of rulemaking for Obama. But whether or not the EPA is declaring war on coal, Republicans in Congress have eagerly declared war on the EPA. Since the GOP took the House last November, bill after bill designed to block EPA regulations and strip funding from the agency has made its way through the House. Democratic control of the Senate has so far offset those efforts, but they may be having an effect. In September, Obama decided to pull back on proposed tougher ground-level-ozone standards in a decision seen by many environmentalists as politically motivated. “You have to worry about political pressure from the White House to water down these regulations,” says Frank O’Donnell, president of the NGO Clean Air Watch. “The question is whether Obama will defend the EPA.”

Curbing King Coal. Better air quality would mean higher coal-fired-energy costs and job losses in some states



Healthy Air

BUT AIR POLLUTION REGULATIONS DON'T come alone with costs. They also deliver economic benefits. The EPA argues that the



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Digging deep An open-pit mine in Inner Mongolia. China's rapid growth is fueling demand

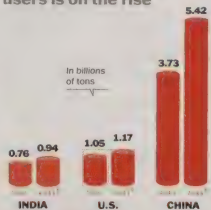
new cross-state-border rule will provide \$280 billion in public-health benefits—fewer deaths, hospital stays and sick days—at the cost of roughly \$2.5 billion a year in plant upgrades. (It helps that the low price of cleaner-burning natural gas—thanks chiefly to the recent boom in shale-gas production—has reduced the cost of switching away from coal.) Another study, by researchers at the University of Massachusetts, estimated that the new regulations would actually lead to a net increase in jobs as utilities hired workers to overhaul their most antiquated plants. Indeed, a report this year by the White House Office of Management and Budget found that EPA regulations have historically provided \$4 in health and environmental benefits for every \$1 they cost.

Coal-industry executives argue that they've been reducing air pollution over the years—and they have. The skyline is significantly cleaner than it was in the 1960s and '70s. But the smoke hasn't cleared, and as scientists look more closely at air pollution, they're finding danger at lower and lower levels. Invisible particles—bits of soot less than nine ten-thousandths of an inch wide—can penetrate the lungs and trigger inflammation, which can contribute to cardiovascular disease. Mercury, which can cause neurological damage in children, is present in trace amounts in some kinds of coal and can be released into the air when the coal is burned. (Mercury emissions increased

more than 8% from 1999 to 2005 even as levels of other pollutants fell.) Though it's not clear what role air pollution might play in causing asthma, the condition has been on the rise nationally, especially in minority communities like Pilsen in Chicago—and there's no doubt that bad air can worsen existing asthma. "For someone who is predisposed to wheeze, air pollution is likely to tip them over and make them wheeze," says Dr. Jerome Paulson, chair of the American Academy of Pediatrics' council on environmental health.

It makes Bloomberg worry as well, which

Smog Alert. Coal burning by the world's biggest users is on the rise



Source: U.S. Energy Information Administration

is why his foundation will be donating millions of dollars to the Sierra Club's Beyond Coal campaign. As the mayor of a city that struggles to meet air-pollution targets—in part because of haze from power plants hundreds of miles away—Bloomberg knows the toll of coal. The air pollution from coal is a threat to urban public health, one that Bloomberg, who has taken cigarettes out of the hands of angry smokers in New York City, is ready to fight. "Coal kills every day," he says. "It's a dirty fuel."

Even with an injection of Bloomberg bucks, the Sierra Club is still a long way from getting the U.S. to truly move beyond coal. Even though U.S. coal generation hit a 30-year low in the first quarter of 2011, coal is still far and away the single biggest source of electricity in the country. And then there are carbon emissions. While existing technology can vastly reduce traditional pollutants like sulfur dioxide and particulates from coal combustion, there's still no commercially viable way to take the carbon out of coal. Pilot projects in the U.S. to build such "clean coal" plants have stalled—AEP suspended a \$668 million clean-coal project this summer—largely because Congress has failed to enact limits on carbon emissions. "The U.S. simply isn't taking the steps needed to clean coal," says John Thompson, director of the coal transition project at CATF.

Other countries, however, are moving forward on clean coal—and they're not the ones you might expect. China has partnered with American power companies like Charlotte, N.C.-based Duke Energy to develop clean-coal plants that can capture and sequester carbon emissions—and do so economically. (Here China's ravenous demand for power is an advantage, allowing the government to throw up experimental pilot plants far faster than the U.S. could.) But such work underscores how central coal remains to China, which has already burned more than 2.5 million tons of the stuff this year, up 10.3% from 2010. "Coal is the dominant worldwide fuel today and will be in 2020 and 2030 and 2040 and 2050," says AEP's Morris.

Given the enormous size of the challenge before them, environmentalists are going to need chutzpah as much as they do a checkbook. "We will devote more resources to moving America beyond coal than anything the Sierra Club has done in its 125-year history," says Michael Brune, the Sierra Club's executive director. "We will create a breakthrough." The war on coal—and there is one—is just beginning. ■

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THE WALMART COLLECTION
BY JEFF KOPPELMAN
PAGE 52

The Culture

50 POP CHART Casting Diana / **52 ART** The Walmart collection / **54 FOOD** America's next great chef / **58 TECH** Digital cameras / **60 FAMILY** Intro to Grandparenting

Pop Chart



GOOD WEEK/ BAD WEEK

David Lynch

His creepy debut solo album, *Crazy Clown Time*, was released to positive reviews.

Brett Ratner

The *Tower Heist* helmer stepped down as Oscar producer after he used an anti-gay slur.



MOVIES

Oh, So There He Is

Waldo, that candy-cane-sweatered children's-book character, will soon be easy to find—at your local movie theater. MGM has secured rights to the *Where's Waldo?* series and plans to make a live-action family-adventure film. We presume the movie will include lots of crowd shots.



Chastain represented the mourning period the mourning period the mourning period

MOVIES

Playing Princess

The mourning period has finally passed; Hollywood will make a Princess Diana movie. Oliver Hirschbiegel's *Caught in Flight*, about Di's two year affair with a London heart surgeon, will go into production in 2012 and star Hollywood newcomer (and American) Jessica Chastain as Di. If Elton John appears on the sound track in any way, we're done.

BIZARRE



One of John Lennon's yellowed molars was recently sold at auction for more than \$11,000. Who would want such a bizarre piece of memorabilia? A Canadian dentist.

SPORTS

Who Would You Rather See Play Detroit's Thanksgiving Halftime Show?

Check one:



☐ Nickelback



☐ Mayer Hawthorne

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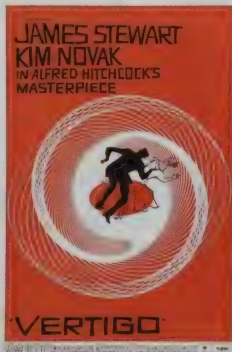


Illustration: Saul Bass
Illustration: Saul Bass
Illustration: Saul Bass
Illustration: Saul Bass

BOOKS

Roll Credits

Graphic designer Saul Bass created some of cinema's greatest movie-credit sequences for directors Alfred Hitchcock (*Psycho*, *North by Northwest*, *Vertigo*), Otto Preminger (*Anatomy of a Murder*, *The Man with the Golden Arm*) and Martin Scorsese (*Casino*, *Cape Fear*). The new book *Saul Bass: A Life in Film & Design* shows off his playfully geometric sequences, movie-poster art and corporate logos.





ONE AND DONE While taking some 80,000 photos over the course of his career, Charles "Tennie" Harris (right) rarely needed to shoot the same scene twice—which is how he got the nickname One Shot. From 1936 to 1975, Harris chronicled the lives of African Americans in Pittsburgh for a local black newspaper and took photos of notables—including this 1962 one of JFK (above)—who happened to be passing through town. His work is on view at the Carnegie Museum of Art through April 7.



Q&A

Werner Herzog

In his new documentary, *Into the Abyss*, the German director takes a look at the American death-penalty system through the case of one man on Texas' death row.

What's the first thing you say when you sit down to talk to death-row inmates? I tell them, "Your crime is abominable and monstrous, but I will still treat you as a human being." I wear my suit—which I hardly ever wear—out of respect.

You've talked about how your peers, people in your generation, could never support capital punishment because of having experienced the Nazis. We have seen the barbarism of a state-ordered, industrialized murder program. I'm not saying that's an argument. It's only a historical experience that we still sense within us. America has not had this experience.

In addition to being a feature-film director and documentarian, you seem to have become

an amazing interviewer. I'm not an interviewer. I have conversations. And I know the heart of men. I know it because I have had fundamental experiences like traveling on foot. The world reveals itself to those who travel on foot. I've walked from

Munich to Paris, but I've also done longer walks. You're unprotected and have to talk to people to ask them to fill your canteen because there's no creek for dozens of miles. You really learn what men are all about.

How did that help with this movie? I wasn't able to talk to any of these people for more than 60 minutes. You have to immediately dig deep into the recesses of their soul. That's not something you learn in film school. —GILBERT CRUZ



FOOD Fendi's Frozen Fare

As fashion brands branch out into everything from condoms to puppy sneakers, it's not surprising to learn that Silvia Fendi, the leather-goods designer, has created four gelato flavors: Mozzarella, aspirin and Coca-Cola Light are self-explanatory, but the taste of Fendi (whose ingredients are not listed) remains a mystery.

3 THINGS YOU DON'T HAVE TO WORRY ABOUT THIS WEEK

1. Amazon's digital book-lending service's replacing your local library. None of the six biggest publishers in the U.S. have yet agreed to participate.

2. The end of Claymation. The video for Justin Bieber's cover of "Santa Claus Is Coming to Town" inserts a clay Biebs into scenes from the animated stop-motion 1970 TV special.

3. Patsy and Edina. Absolutely Fabulous creator Jennifer Saunders has announced plans to make the British television series into a feature film. Sweetie darling, this is great news!

Art

The Crystal Palace. A Walmart heiress provides a rich new home for American art

By Richard Lacayo

THE MEGARICH DON'T BUILD PYRAMIDS

anymore—labor costs and all. But for the past century, the next best thing for them has been to establish art museums with their names attached. Henry Clay Frick, one of the most ruthless plutocrats of the Gilded Age, left behind the incomparable Frick Museum in New York City. Isabella Stewart Gardner, a much more benign soul, gave us hers in Boston. J. Paul Getty founded two in Los Angeles.

Alice Walton, the 62-year-old daughter of Walmart founder Sam Walton and one of the wealthiest women in the U.S. (\$21 billion and counting), has chosen not to put her name on her new museum in Bentonville, Ark., where her father started Walmart in 1962. That can be called an act of exemplary self-restraint, because the Crystal Bridges Museum of American Art is one terrific specimen of art-institutional splendor—the most impressive to appear in the U.S. since the Getty Center opened its doors 14 years ago.

The museum is Alice Walton's personal project, not Walmart's. But it's bound to strike some people as a chapel in honor of an older America that big-box stores are devouring—and perhaps an attempt to soften the image of her father's company, the retail behemoth that steamrollered traditional downtowns. However one feels about Walmart, though, Crystal Bridges—nestled in a wooded ravine within a 120-acre park—is beautifully achieved, as both a building and a collection. Walton's chosen architect, Moshe Safdie, provided her with a supple sequence of eight interconnected pavilions of concrete and inlaid wood. They surround a man-made reflecting pond crossed by the crystal bridges, two glass-walled spans with arching ribbed roofs. One holds the museum restaurant; the other contains two masonry-walled galleries that sit within like minimalist cube sculptures.

And then there's the art. The highest ambi-

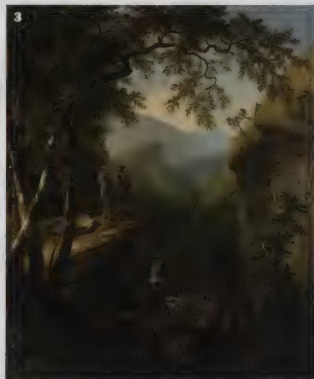
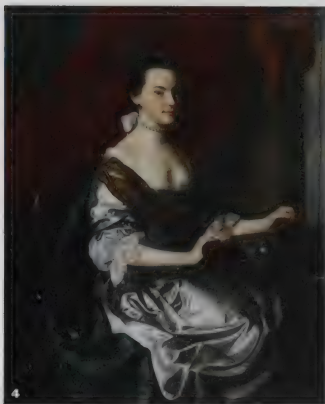
tion of any museum is to be encyclopedic: to have choice examples from every major artist and period. Walton's museum opens in something close to that condition. She's been collecting for decades to get there, sometimes in a blaze of unwanted publicity. In 2005 she made a well-publicized purchase from the New York Public Library of Asher B. Durand's *Kindred Spirits*, reportedly for \$35 million. Two years later her attempt to buy *The Gross Clinic* by Thomas Eakins from a Philadelphia medical school failed when two Philadelphia art institutions rushed in to buy it jointly rather than let it leave the city. And Walton's effort to acquire art from cash-strapped Fisk University—in the kind of fire-sale disallowed by museum professional associations—has been tied up in court challenges.

But most of her collecting has been much quieter and well targeted. The museum's greatest strength is in 19th-century landscape painting, where American art made its first plausible claim to a power and originality rivaling the art of Europe. All the big names are here—Hudson River painters like Durand and Thomas Cole, masters of light and atmosphere like Fitz Henry Lane, and the composers of the crashing visual chord Albert Bierstadt and Frederic Edwin Church. But Crystal Bridges is also a museum that finds room on its walls for neglected artists like the grimly fascinating surrealist George Tooker. And it smartly declines to separate high art from the kind connected to magazine illustration and other mass media. Norman Rockwell's *Rosie the Riveter*, his Pallas Athena in overalls, rubs shoulders with an Arshile Gorky abstraction conducting a high-minded conversation with Cubism. By the time you get to the monumental head of Dolly Parton by Andy Warhol—an artist who started as a fashion illustrator—it's clear that contemporary life has made the whole divide between high and low pretty hard to sustain.

There are patchy spots in the collection, especially after World War II. There's no big pulsing Mark Rothko, no blooming Cy Twombly. But with an acquisitions endowment of \$325 million, part of a \$800 million gift from the Walton Family Foundation, those will probably come along in time. The pyramids weren't built in a day.



Crystal Bridges is the most impressive institution of its kind since the Getty Center opened its doors



1. A view of the museum offers a glimpse of one of the glass-walled bridges 2. Rosie the Riveter, Norman Rockwell, 1943 3. Kindred Spirits, Asher B. Durand, 1849 4. Mrs. Theodore Atkinson, Jr., John Singleton Copley, 1765 5. Dolly Parton, Andy Warhol, 1985

Whole Hog. Part purist, part magician, Sean Brock is pushing two culinary extremes

By Josh Ozersky/Charleston

Brock at his rooftop garden in Charleston, S.C.

SEAN BROCK IS LISTENING TO A CHICKEN. HE'S in the prep kitchen of Husk, the Charleston, S.C., phenomenon *Bon Appétit* recently named the best new restaurant in America. And he is making the crown jewel of Southern cooking—fried chicken—in covered cast-iron pans. He gauges the birds' progress by their muffled sizzling. "They sound happy," he says, in a state of near bliss himself. Everything he is doing is intuitive, atavistic, an act of love and gluttony. This is one side of Sean Brock.

There is another side too, the side that first brought him to light as the most conspicuously gifted American chef of his generation. A few blocks away from Husk sits a grand, four-story manse that is home to McCrady's, where for five years Brock, 33, has been playing the role of molecular gastronomist—a peerless technician whose use of gels, powders and foams seems all the more unexpected given his devotion to lard, grits and other Southern comforts.

When I first wrote about Brock for *TIME*, come last fall, he was about to open Husk and be inundated with praise, from the *Bon App* award to an 11-page profile in the *New Yorker* to a parting declaration by New York *Times* restaurant critic Sam Sifton that McCrady's is the best restaurant outside New York City. Brock won a 2010 James Beard Award for presiding over the complex dishes at McCrady's, tweezers poised to make sure the ingredients were arranged just so. The fact that he has become even more famous for Husk's pimento cheese and deep-fried pig's ears points to the peculiar dichotomy of our current food choices.

American cooking is at a crossroads. Ambitious young chefs either become locavores obsessed with small farms, offcuts, heritage breeds and a minimum of culinary interference, or they take up the tweezers and dig deep

into the arcana of stabilizers and gums, becoming modernist magi. Even for Brock, the chef of the moment, there is no overt attempt to reconcile these philosophies. Both his restaurants have the same sourcing for all their meat, fish, dairy and vegetables, but at first glance, the dishes they produce suggest there is a radical split between the two hemispheres of the chef's brain.

Husk was conceived as a way to celebrate and protect the old ways of Southern cooking. The elixir of rendered pork fat serves as the basis of almost everything served there. It's a paradise of skillet corn bread, raw local oysters with home-made vinegar, brown-butter crumble and red-eye gravy. Contrast those offerings with McCrady's twist on shrimp and grits, a classic low-country dish. The grits come from a locally grown and nearly extinct strain of corn called Jimmy Red, which is hand-shelled, flash-frozen with liquid nitrogen and cold-milled. The shrimp are dehydrated and pulverized so they won't overpower the grits, and the virtuoso technique is as much a tribute as it is reinvention. If Husk is all about down-home dedication, then McCrady's is a crucible of high ideals and hardcore attitude. I call this style of cooking lardcore. It's meticulous, it's ballsy, and it doesn't care what you think of it. In that, it's very Southern.

For Brock, the two restaurants aren't a contradiction; they define and complete each other. Husk is, in the strictest sense, a restaurant whose menu is its manifesto. Almost everything, even the salt, is made in the South. Husk takes its name from the hard protective coating of seeds. (Brock's devotion to resurrecting vegetable strains is so intense that he has had several tattooed on his arm.) McCrady's, meanwhile, is pure paradox: a supremely technologized, cutting-edge kitchen in a restaurant so old that

Deep Dishes Showcasing Southern food



PUMPKIN SOUP

Brock purees heirloom pumpkins with vegetable stock and garnishes the soup with fresh-picked herbs, Virginia maple-flavored marshmallows and granola made from Anson Mills' antebellum oats



PORK RIBS

Dusted with barbecue rub and mopped with vinegar, the ribs are smoked with three types of wood and, for the last 30 minutes, whiskey-barrel staves. The final touch: a sprinkling of benne seeds





Hillbilly chicken At Husk, Brock's birds are brined in sweet tea, fried in five kinds of fat and served with house-made hot sauce and locally produced honey

George Washington once ate there. Brock feels at home in both places. Get him out of South Carolina and in with other meat-centric chefs, as I did this summer when I asked him to cook at the annual barbecue festival I organize in New York City, and his food stands out for its intensity of both flavor and cooking method: he and Carolina pitmaster Rodney Scott won Best Dish for their whole hog roasted over charcoal made of pig bones.

Kind of a Frankenstein

BROCK HAS A SCRUFFY BEARD AND A DISINCLINATION to remove his baseball hat (its slogan: MAKE CORNBREAD, NOT WAR). The Virginia native looks more blue collar than white tablecloth; when I went with him to eat oysters at a seafood joint on a marshy stretch outside Charleston, he was greeted warmly by the owner, who mistook him for the guy who did his floors.

He may have received his culinary degree from Johnson and Wales University, but Brock studied fried chicken by watching the way his mother and all the great Southern cooks make it: by smell and by sound, by focusing on how gently the bubbles come to the surface and how the fat smells once it's been strained. He brines his chicken in sweet tea, which makes it juicy, and dips it in buttermilk, flour and cornmeal before he fries it in a mixture of lard, country-ham fat, chicken fat and ground-up bacon fat. Brock is constantly fussing with what he calls his hillbilly chicken, checking under the lid, turning

the pieces over at just the right moment. At the very end, he throws a big chunk of butter into the sizzling lard to give extra flavor and color to the crust. Finally, he takes the chicken out to cool on paper bags as his sous-chef, Arienne Casebier, pours out most of the fat and makes a pan gravy with the burned bits and some flour and milk. "Goddamn! This makes me so f---ing happy," Brock shouts. "You can't get fried chicken like that anywhere."

He's less exuberant but equally proud of the chicken dish that just went on the menu at McCrady's. It calls forth all his intellectual energies—a parlor trick in the form of a single, 4-in., geometrically precise rectangle of meat that manages to work in dark meat, white meat and super-crispy skin via the most diabolical of stratagems. The bird is skinned whole somehow, and the skin is flattened, salted, stretched and scraped of most of its soft fat before it is attached—using transglutaminase, or as cooks call it, meat glue—to a layer of dark meat that has been emulsified with foie gras fat and diced black truffles. The concoction isn't simply cooked

sous vide to make it perfectly soft and tender. Brock would consider that too easy, and his cooks, who are as rigorous as Jesuits in their pursuit of the absolute, strive to outdo him. The dark meat is vacuum-packed and slowly cooked under warm water until it takes on an unnatural bologna-like texture. It gets pressed and poached before the final step of crisping up the skin side on a hot griddle. It's a complicated way of expressing something old (classic French flavors) and something new (look what my lab can do attitude) at the same time. "It's kind of a Frankenstein," Brock says affectionately.

One of his chicken dishes is digital, the other analog. One can be reproduced by anybody with exact measurements and specialized equipment, the other involves feeling and intuition. A Faustian mind like Brock's requires a vast spice library and textures unknown to nature to push forward his modernist vision of food. Meanwhile, Brock's other mode, the one fascinated by Thomas Jefferson's experiments with olive cultivation and by obscure breeds of pig, represents the progressive culture's response to modernity—a kind of backward-looking, emotionally engaged puritanism that is at its best when doing the least to food that is farmed or forged close by.

Is there a way to combine the two approaches? Do our foodways have to be so bipolar? "I always ask myself what am I going to be cooking when I'm 60 years old," Brock says. "There's this soul of Southern food that's so distinct, that has to come across in the food—smoke and potlikker and pork." Brock wants both to preserve the feeling people get when they eat in the South and to keep pushing everything forward. "That will be the challenge," he says. "Because when you taste those types of flavors, they will take your brain to simple Southern cooking. To get that into a modern context is going to take me time. This is the path I'm on." He pauses, thinking of his restaurants, two roads diverging in a yellow wood. "Someday I'll have a restaurant that has 12 seats, and there will be one menu, and it will be a combination of the two." And when that happens, the future will have arrived. ■

Lardcore cooking is meticulous, it's ballsy, and it doesn't care what you think of it. In that, it's very Southern

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It
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Tech

Glam Cams

Let the most creative digital cameras win

By Harry McCracken

FOR YEARS, THE SNAPSHOTS TAKEN WITH camera phones were too grainy to put on your fridge, let alone in a frame. But now that today's most impressive models—such as Apple's iPhone 4S and Samsung's Galaxy S II—can capture pictures you can love unreservedly, why would anyone bother to buy a mundane point-and-shoot?

It's a good question, and the photo industry's giants are working overtime to answer it. They too have upped the ante on image quality. The most intriguing models pack superzoom lenses, built-in projectors and other nifty features that aren't yet common on phones. And they let you shoot photos as fast as you can press the shutter button. (Camera phones still tend to be sluggish.)

But they're missing Internet-savvy apps like the iPhone photo-sharing service Instagram, which in barely over a year has signed up 12 million shutterbugs who want to edit and post their photos on the fly. Instant creativity of that sort is the future of photography, and without it, even the most cutting-edge stand-alone cameras feel like throwbacks to a less connected era.

Apple iPhone 4S; \$199 (with contract)

The new iPhone boasts so many photographic advances—a higher-resolution sensor, a fender lens, a potent processor that permits snappier shooting and features like face detection—that Apple could have reasonably named it the iCamera. The cheapest version has 16 GB, i.e., room for a ton of photos.

Like virtually all camera phones, the 4S has a puny flash and no optical zoom.

Capturing and sharing the world around you with a gadget that's always with you.

Samsung MV800; \$280

The articulated 3-in. touchscreen can be easily adjusted to multiple angles to help you see up and over a crowd, down low for pets or kids or flipped around for self-portraits.

The Samsung is a tad gimmicky. One feature suggests how much to tilt your head for a more fetching portrait.

Taking pictures of yourself—and other inspiring subjects—from any angle.

Canon PowerShot ELPH 510 HS; \$350

One of the best reasons to buy a real camera is to get an optical-zoom lens. The 510 HS crams a serious one—with 12x magnification—into an eminently pocketable metal case.

The touchscreen interface can be frustrating. If you don't peek at the on-screen buttons with exacting precision, nothing happens.

Distant subjects such as wildlife and unsuspecting family members.

Nikon S1200pj; \$430

The slim S1200pj isn't merely a camera; it's also a projector. Pop open its second lens and you can beam the photos and videos you've shot onto a wall or other flat surface. The image is surprisingly bright and crisp even when the display size is as big as a 60-in. flat-screen TV.

The audio that emanates from the camera's tiny speaker is too faint to fill a room.

Instant show-and-tell, almost anywhere.

Sony A77; \$1,400 (body only)

Sony's latest removable-lens wonder comes with 24.3 megapixels and an electronic viewfinder that uses OLED (organic light-emitting diode) technology to provide much more vivid colors—and deeper blacks—than the LCD screens found on most cameras.

Its imposing price and size. (An upcoming slightly cheaper Sony, the NEX-7, also has an OLED viewfinder.)

Photos worthy of winning prizes—and passing down to future generations.



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PEOPLE
WHO
GET IT

Family



Mother Knows Best. And she's sending the grandparents to obedience school

By Bonnie Rochman/Seattle

ROSALIE MUSHTA IS TRYING, REALLY trying, to figure out this swaddling thing. She has a plastic doll to practice on, but the baby blanket just won't cooperate. Hospitals have been offering crash courses on how to care for newborns for many years, and one thing expectant parents learn is that getting a simple square of fabric to stay tightly cocooned around a baby—even a fake one—is surprisingly difficult. But Mushta didn't go to Seattle's Swedish Medical Center to prepare for the birth of her first child. She's there because she's about to become a grandmother and her daughter wanted to disabuse her of many outdated notions about raising kids.

"It kind of took me aback," Mushta, 64, a retired executive assistant, says of being asked to attend a grandparenting class. But she agreed to go, she says after setting aside her clumsily wrapped baby doll, because "I wanted my daughter to feel comfortable that I would do things her way."

In the long, often passive-aggressive history of generational conflict over child rearing, there have been gentle reminders, willful ignorance, more emphatic reminders, stealthily supervised visits and, in the most extreme cases, unaccepted offers to babysit. But the rise of grandparenting classes represents

a marked shift among parents from attempting to lecture their forebears to hiring experts to do the lecturing for them. Revenue-hungry hospitals, particularly in larger cities, are eager to take on this role. Swedish Medical, which increased the frequency of its grandparenting classes from every other month to twice a month, offers a three-hour grandparenting class as part of its \$275 Welcome Baby package, which includes seminars on conscious fathering, sibling preparation, coping with confidence and other topics guaranteed to make mothers-in-law roll their eyes.


Family harmony is the ultimate goal, but much of grandparenting classes deal with down-in-the-trenches details like how to change a diaper (talcum powder is out; diaper cream is in) and when to introduce cereals (instead of four

weeks, the recommendation is now six months). But perhaps the biggest source of generational friction is over how to put a baby to bed. The medical community used to tell parents to lay babies on their stomachs but did an about-face after decades of research showed that babies have a greater chance of dying from sudden infant death syndrome when sleeping on their stomachs than on their backs. Yet tales of baby-flipping grandparents still abound online, as do complaints about their I-raised-you-and-you-turned-out O.K. defense. "It's like saying 'I smoked cigarettes for 40 years, and I'm fine!'" one mom griped this summer on BabyCenter.com.

Trust can become a huge issue. "The parents said if I wanted access to this baby, I had to come," says Ginny Fountain, 64, a city employee who attended the Seattle class with her husband. "Will we still butt heads on other approaches to parenting? Of course," says her daughter Katherine Fountain Mackinnon, 28, a lobbyist whose son is due Dec. 25. "But I certainly don't want to argue about whether the baby should be placed on his stomach or his back."

"Raising children today is a lot more complicated than it was," says Dr. Jay Berkelhamer, a grandfather and a past president of the American Academy of Pediatrics. He cites wrestling with car seats as one of the more frustrating new requirements. Adair Lara, author of *The Grammy Diaries*, agrees. "I kept my daughter in a wicker basket in the back seat of the car. Everything changes."

Family harmony is the ultimate goal, but much of the classes deal with down-in-the-trenches details

A white t-shirt is centered against a dark background. The t-shirt features a large, bold, multi-colored graphic print that reads: "WHY WOULD YOU WANT TO BE LIKE SOMEONE ELSE? IT'S EXHAUSTING JUST TRYING TO BE YOURSELF." The text is in all caps, with "WHY WOULD YOU WANT TO BE LIKE SOMEONE ELSE?" in blue, "IT'S EXHAUSTING" in orange, and "JUST TRYING TO BE YOURSELF." in yellow.

WHY WOULD YOU
WANT TO BE LIKE
SOMEONE ELSE?
IT'S EXHAUSTING
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John Cloud



When Secrets Go Viral

From spanking to bullying, intimate conflicts pose social-media conundrums

BECAUSE WE USUALLY OPERATE social-media sites on screens, we tend to imagine them as little crosshatch windows. You can pass a neighbor's house and see a couple screaming at each other, but you have no idea what happens when they get upstairs and either make up or start throwing lamps.

Consider the case of William Adams, the "spanking" judge in Texas. Seven years ago, the family-court judge and his then wife repeatedly whipped their wailing daughter Hillary, who was 16. Her surreptitious video of that incident has been viewed 6 million times since she posted it in October. Thousands of people—including the editors of Adams' local paper, the Corpus Christi *Caller Times*—have called for him to step down.

And yet the constant replaying of the incident has started to feel more like voyeurism than concern, especially as the context grows more complicated. Judge Adams' attorney released a letter on Nov. 4 saying that even after Hillary turned 18, she "insisted on living with her father ... from the time of her parents' [2007] divorce." He said Hillary posted the video only after Adams threatened to confiscate a Mercedes he had given her.

Hillary first responded via Twitter that her dad was a longtime abuser who needs help. But eventually, even she seemed to realize that the story had spun out of her control. She tweeted on Nov. 5 that she wanted people to stop "making fun of [her father] and hurting him."

This tangled chain of events leads to more fundamental questions: What does it mean to be a good citizen in the digital world? When should we watch, and

when should we turn away? It's a given that the Internet values scalding emotion over deliberative caution: look at the populist rage kindled by Casey Anthony. But even if you would never buy a grocery-store tabloid, clicking on a gossip story that appears in your iPad's Facebook feed seems fine. It's as though the elegance and ease of all our shiny screens make consumption of trivial dross more taste-



ful. At least reading the *Star* can leave an ink smudge on your fingers.

Justin Bieber, who manages his stardom carefully on Twitter, learned this lesson recently after a 20-year-old alleged that he fathered her child last year, when he was 16. At first, Bieber took a Herman Cain approach: he tweeted that he wanted fans to "judge me on the music!" But thousands of questioning posts began to pile up, and by Nov. 7, Bieber had agreed to provide DNA that, his managers say, will prove the woman a liar.

Bieber has plenty of handlers to help him navigate the accusation. A typical teenager doesn't. Many parents find

themselves in the perplexing position of trying to teach digital manners when they may not even know what Tumblr is, let alone how their kids are using that platform on cell phones under the covers.

Partly because of this knowledge gap, social-media sites have become an effective way of bullying. For the past couple of years, students in a Buffalo, N.Y., suburb directed ferocious online animosity toward a bisexual 14-year-old named Jamey Rodemeyer. "I wouldn't care if you died," one poster wrote on Formspring, one of three social-media sites on which the boy kept profiles. "It would make everyone WAY more happier!"

Jamey tried to respond with his own form of digital citizenship. In April, he joined the It Gets Better campaign, which encourages people to post videos urging gay kids not to commit suicide, to wait out the hard adolescent years. President Obama made an It Gets Better video, as have Secretary of State Hillary Clinton and virtually every working entertainer in Hollywood. Thousands of ordinary people have also made them. In Jamey's video, he says that "people would constantly give me hate" for being different, but after he came out, he got support from the gay community. "Hold your head up ... It gets better."

But that video was merely a window into a brief moment of Jamey's life, which did not get better. On Sept. 18, he killed himself. His suicide led to fiery calls for laws against online bullying, as if an animal so feral as social media could ever be wrestled down by plodding legislation. Instead of laws, we may need a cultural reframing: social media as social, not personal. Twitter can help fuel revolutions, but it can also shred privacy, family, community. Concern matters. But sometimes it's best to walk past the neighbor's house without peeping into the window.

BRIEF SUMMARY FOR PATIENTS
BROVANA® (bro va "nah")
(arformoterol tartrate) Inhalation Solution

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mg
(arformoterol tartrate) Inhalation Solution

BROVANA is only for use with a nebulizer. Read the Medication Guide that comes with BROVANA before you start using it and each time you get a refill. There may be new information. This Brief Summary does not take the place of talking to your healthcare provider about your medical condition or treatment.

What is the most important information I should know about BROVANA?

BROVANA can cause serious side effects, including:

- People with asthma, who take long-acting beta₂ adrenergic agonist (LABA) medicines, such as BROVANA, have an increased risk of death from asthma problems.
- It is not known if LABA medicines, such as BROVANA, increase the risk of death in people with chronic obstructive pulmonary disease (COPD).
- Get emergency medical care if:
 - breathing problems worsen quickly
 - you use your rescue inhaler medicine, but it does not relieve your breathing problems

What is BROVANA?

BROVANA is used long term, 2 times each day (morning and evening), in controlling symptoms of chronic obstructive pulmonary disease (COPD) in adults with COPD.

BROVANA is only for use with a nebulizer. LABA medicines such as BROVANA help the muscles around the airways in your lungs stay relaxed to prevent symptoms, such as wheezing, cough, chest tightness, and shortness of breath.

BROVANA should not be used in children. It is not known if BROVANA is safe and effective in children. It is not known if BROVANA is safe and effective in people with asthma.

Who should not use BROVANA?

Do not use BROVANA if you:

- have had a serious allergic reaction to arformoterol, formoterol, or any of the ingredients in BROVANA. Ask your healthcare provider if you are not sure. See the Medication Guide for a complete list of ingredients in BROVANA.
- have asthma without using a long-term asthma control medicine.

What should I tell my healthcare provider before using BROVANA?

Tell your healthcare provider about all of your health conditions, including if you:

- have heart problems
- have high blood pressure
- have seizures
- have thyroid problems
- have diabetes
- have liver problems
- are pregnant or planning to become pregnant. It is not known if BROVANA can harm your unborn baby.
- are breastfeeding. It is not known if BROVANA passes into your milk and if it can harm your baby.

Tell your healthcare provider about all the medicines you take including prescription and non-prescription medicines, vitamins and herbal supplements. BROVANA and certain other medicines may interact with each other. This may cause serious side effects. Know the medicines you take. Keep a list of them to show your healthcare provider and pharmacist each time you get a new medicine.

How should I use BROVANA?

Read the step-by-step instructions for using BROVANA at the end of the Medication Guide.

- Use BROVANA exactly as prescribed. One ready-to-use vial of BROVANA is one dose. The usual dose of BROVANA is 1 ready-to-use vial, twice a day (morning and evening) breathed in through your nebulizer machine. The 2 doses should be about 12 hours apart.

Do not use more than 2 ready-to-use vials of BROVANA a day.

- Do not swallow or inject BROVANA.
- BROVANA is for use with a standard jet nebulizer machine connected to an air compressor. Read the complete instructions for use at the end of the Medication Guide before starting BROVANA.
- Do not mix other medicines with BROVANA in your nebulizer machine.
- If you miss a dose of BROVANA. Just skip that dose. Take your next dose at your usual time. Do not take 2 doses at one time.

• While you are using BROVANA 2 times each day:

- do not use other medicines that contain a long-acting beta₂-agonist (LABA) for any reason.
- do not use your short-acting beta₂-agonist medicine on a regular basis (four times a day).

• BROVANA does not relieve sudden symptoms of COPD. Always have a rescue inhaler medicine with you to treat sudden symptoms. If you do not have a rescue inhaler medicine, call your healthcare provider to have one prescribed for you.

• Do not stop using BROVANA or other medicines to control or treat your COPD unless told to do so by your healthcare provider because your symptoms might get worse. Your healthcare provider will change your medicines as needed.

Do not use BROVANA:

- more often than prescribed
- more medicine than prescribed to you
- with other LABA medicines

Call your healthcare provider or get emergency medical care right away if:

- your breathing problems worsen with BROVANA
- you need to use your rescue inhaler medicine more often than usual
- your rescue inhaler medicine does not work as well for you at relieving symptoms

What are the possible side effects with BROVANA?

BROVANA can cause serious side effects, including:

- See "What is the most important information I should know about BROVANA?"
- Sudden shortness of breath immediately after use of BROVANA
- If your COPD symptoms worsen over time do not increase your dose of BROVANA, instead call your healthcare provider.
- Increased blood pressure
- Fast or irregular heartbeat
- serious allergic reactions including rash, hives, swelling of the face, mouth, and tongue, and breathing problems.

Call your healthcare provider or get emergency medical care if you get any symptoms of a serious allergic reaction.

Common side effects of BROVANA include:

- chest or back pain
- diarrhea
- sinus congestion
- headache
- tremor
- nervousness
- leg cramps
- high blood potassium
- shortness of breath
- rash
- fever
- increased white blood cells
- vomiting
- tiredness
- leg swelling
- chest congestion or bronchitis

Tell your healthcare provider if you get any side effect that bothers you or that does not go away. These are not all the side effects with BROVANA. Ask your healthcare provider or pharmacist for more information. Call your doctor for medical advice about side effects. You may report side effects to FDA at 1-800-FDA-1088.

How should I store BROVANA?

- Store BROVANA in a refrigerator between 36° to 46°F (2° to 8°C) in the protective foil pouch. Protect from light and excessive heat. Do not open a sealed pouch until you are ready to use a dose of BROVANA. After opening the pouch, unused ready-to-use vials should be returned to, and stored in, the pouch. An opened ready-to-use vial should be used right away. BROVANA may be used directly from the refrigerator.
- BROVANA may also be stored at room temperature between 68°F to 77°F (20°C to 25°C) for up to 6 weeks (42 days). If stored at room temperature, discard BROVANA if it is not used after 6 weeks or if past the expiration date, whichever is sooner. Space is provided on the packaging to record room temperature storage times.
- Do not use BROVANA after the expiration date provided on the foil pouch and ready-to-use vial.
- BROVANA should be colorless. Discard BROVANA if it is not colorless.
- Keep BROVANA and all medicines out of the reach of children.

General Information about BROVANA

Medicines are sometimes prescribed for purposes not mentioned in a Medication Guide. Do not use BROVANA for a condition for which it was not prescribed. Do not give BROVANA to other people, even if they have the same condition. It may harm them. This Brief Summary summarizes the most important information about BROVANA. If you would like more information, talk with your healthcare provider. You can ask your healthcare provider or pharmacist for information about BROVANA that was written for healthcare professionals.

- For customer service, call 1-888-394-7377.
- To report side effects, call 1-877-737-7226.
- For medical information, call 1-800-739-0565.

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10 Questions



Sting plays a little Bach on his guitar every day. "He is the great teacher," says the singer

Singer, activist and former Police man **Sting** is 60. He talks about sex, death and his father's timing

Does everybody in your family call you Sting?

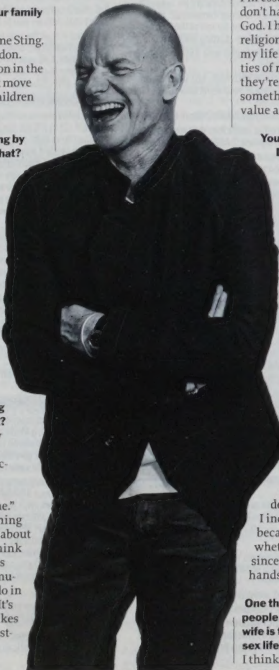
[My wife] Trudy calls me Sting. I was never called Gordon. You could shout Gordon in the street and I would just move out of your way. My children call me Dad.

Shouldn't it be Sir Sting by now? What's up with that?

Oh no, I'm not old enough to be Sir. I'm a Commander of the British Empire.

But the CBE—blue cross, red ribbon—isn't it a bit gaudy?
That's true. I wouldn't wear it.

You say in your book and box set *Sting: 25 Years* that you don't believe in miracles, that success is about perseverance. Was there never a song that just came as a gift?
Some do come already wrapped in ribbon—probably the most successful ones. "Every Breath You Take," for example. Or "Roxanne." Not that there's anything particularly original about those songs. I don't think there's such a thing as composition in pop music. I think what we do in pop music is collate. It's like folk music. It makes copyright a bit interesting and difficult. I'm a good collator.



When asked your religion, you write "devout musician." Does that mean you pray to Angus Young?

It's not a frivolous answer. I'm essentially agnostic. I don't have a problem with God. I have a problem with religion. I've chosen to live my life without the certainties of religious faith. I think they're dangerous. Music is something that gives my life value and spiritual solace.

You're 60 and agnostic. Do you think about death?

Of course I do. Am I afraid of it? No, I'm intrigued by it. I'm not ready for it yet. But in many ways, acknowledging that sense of mortality enriches the life you have left. My dad and I had the same hands. I hadn't really noticed that until he was on his deathbed, and I mentioned it. And he said, "You used your hands better than I did." My dad was a milkman.

And I realized that was probably the first compliment he'd ever paid me, and that was kind of devastating. I suppose I included it in this book because I wanted to assess whether in the 25 years since he died I used my hands well.

One thing that seems to upset people about you and your wife is that you talk about your sex life. Why do you do that?
I think everyone's obsessed

by sex. It's the strongest impulse in human nature. But we don't take it that seriously. We're just having fun.

You've had a home in the U.S. for decades, but you're a British citizen. What do you think of the way the U.S. is going?

I don't think there is any political discourse in this country. People tend to speak in sound bites, which have nothing to do with any kind of information that's useful. I miss genuine debate. It's not to say there aren't intelligent people in politics. Of course there are. But the system doesn't seem to support that level of discourse even in, you know, the greatest democracy on the planet.

As an environmentalist, how do you think the Obama Administration is doing?


I was disappointed when he abandoned plans to tighten smog standards [in September]. But I understand the realpolitik of being President. Hopefully, with a second term, he will be able to be greener.

You've released an eclectic range of albums, including Jacobean lute music. A lot of people would love another rock record. Will you do one?
I'll do what intrigues me. It may be rock-'n'-roll. But I just don't believe there's a massive amount of people going, "I wish Sting would do a rock-'n'-roll record." They don't exist.

—BELINDA LUSCOMBE



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